





## NEWS

in brief

## Eavesdropping journalist's sentence reduced

Tel Aviv District Court yesterday partially accepted an appeal by *Yediot Aharanot* news editor Ruth Ben-Ari, who was convicted of eavesdropping, and reduced her sentence from three months' community service and one year suspended to six months' suspended sentence. It retained a fine of NIS 10,000 imposed earlier by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court, which had dropped a charge of criminal conspiracy against her. *Itim*

## Trucks kill pedestrian, cyclist

Rahel Danan, 65, died after being hit by a truck on a pedestrian crossing in Nahariya yesterday afternoon.

The 25-year-old truck driver from Ma'alot claimed that he did not notice the woman.

Another fatal accident took place at the same hour at the Kiryat Ata junction, on the Haifa-Acre road, where a local resident was struck and killed by a truck when trying to cross the junction on his bicycle. *Itim*

## Turkey requests World War I memorial site

Turkish President Suleyman Demirel has formally requested a memorial site be set up in Ramle Cemetery for Ottoman soldiers who fell during the First World War.

There are 465 graves in the cemetery, which is situated next to a British cemetery. Demirel first requested the site six months ago, but Israel asked Britain, which insisted that, since the cemetery is on Israeli soil, Israel is responsible for setting up a memorial.

The request is part of an overall Turkish initiative to set up Ottoman Empire memorial sites in cemeteries throughout the world. India and Turkmenistan have already agreed for sites to be set up there. *Itim*

## Six arrested in Jerusalem protests

Six Arabs were arrested in Jerusalem yesterday for throwing rocks, bottles, and Molotov cocktails at police, in another day of protests demanding the release of political prisoners from Israeli jails. On Salah a-Din and Sultan Suleiman streets, demonstrators threw Molotov cocktails at a passing Border Police patrol. In At-Tur, garbage was set on fire, and police cars were damaged by protesters. *Elli Wohlgelemer*

## Cell phone deal for national service women

Young women performing national service will be able to borrow a cellular phone from Pelephone: when they complete their year or two, they will be able to buy the phone at a bargain price. An agreement to that effect was signed yesterday by Pelephone and Bat Ami, the voluntary organization that trains and assigns 18-year-old religious women exempted from military service to work in schools, hospitals, absorption centers, and other facilities. Although they won't have to purchase the phone, they will have to pay a set user's fee of NIS 22 a month and 40 agorot a minute for air time. *Judy Siegel*

## ULA decries crowded classrooms

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics indicating decreasing average class sizes is misleading, Union of Local Authorities in Israel education committee chairman Shmuel Abuv charged yesterday.

While the figures show class size has dropped from 28 in 1995-96 to 27.8 this year, the data includes classes in religious and haredi schools where boys and girls are separated, thereby reducing the overall average.

"In the non-religious sector, which is much larger than the religious and haredi sector, there is much more crowding," he said. Abuv said that even though 1,475 classrooms are being built this year, another 1,565 are needed. *Aryeh Dean Cohen*

## Four Republican governors arrive

A delegation of US Republican governors wrapped up a day of sightseeing and visits with Israeli officials yesterday on a trip organized by the National Jewish Coalition.

Governors Paul Cellucci of Massachusetts, Marc Racicot of Montana, Michael Leavitt of Utah and George W. Bush of Texas were on the trip. At a meeting with President Ezer Weizman, Bush said he was visiting Israel to "listen and learn." "I am not here for any political purpose," Bush told reporters. "I'm here to learn more, not only about Israel, but about the history of my religion." *AP*

## Wiesenthal Center to expand in LA

In a major expansion move, the Simon Wiesenthal Center has purchased a three-story building to house its extensive tolerance education programs for law enforcement officers, teachers, students and corporations.

The \$6.6 million facility lies directly across the street from the center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles.

At a brief ceremony last week, the California Arts Council, a state agency, presented an over-sized check for \$2.5 million to Rabbi Meyer May, the center's executive director, as the state's contribution toward the building purchase.

The Wiesenthal Center will match this amount, and the remaining cost will be covered through rents from the building's street-level tenants, the UCLA Medical Group and a large pharmacy. *Tom Tugend*

## The Israel - South Africa Chamber of Commerce

deeply mourns the tragic and untimely passing of

## PENNY HOUSEMAN

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**BERTL (Bertha) STRAUSS** of Germany, England and Israel

The family

Shiva at Kritzler, Rehov Panim Meir 10, Jerusalem

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of

## SHULAMIT REIS

The funeral will take place today, Monday, November 30, 1998 at 1:30 p.m. at the Holon Cemetery.

The family

## Moms liken protest to Vietnam vigils

By HERB KESNOR

Sixteen years ago, soon after the outbreak of the War in Lebanon, Gail Auslander came home from her job teaching social work at the Hebrew University, looked in at her sleeping baby, and cried that he wasn't born a girl.

"That boy is now 17, and soon to go into the IDF. 'Like everyone else,' Auslander said, 'he wants to get into one of the elite units, go to Lebanon, and be a hero.'"

She wants to stop him - not by standing in his way, but by rousing public opinion to force the government to remove the troops from Lebanon. That way, she reasons, boys like her son - "young, naive, and ignorant enough to believe that nothing bad will happen to them" - will have no need to serve in the security zone.

Auslander was one of about 100 people,

mostly women from three different organizations, who demonstrated yesterday opposite the Prime Minister's Office, calling for an immediate IDF withdrawal from Lebanon.

Among the MKs present were Labor's Yossi Beilin and Yael Dayan, and Meretz's Dedi Zucker.

Auslander said she is well aware of the dangers of pulling out of the zone, of how this may be interpreted as an act of weakness, and of the threats to the northern settlements. But as the number of soldiers being killed in the zone mounts, it is painfully obvious to her that the current situation is not working either.

"Get out..." a husky-voiced male protester signalled the crowd through a megaphone. "...from Lebanon!" the protesters yelled back. "From Lebanon..." the leader shouted again, reversing the order. "...Get out!" the protesters yelled back.

One woman took the megaphone and began a chant of her own: "The children are dying, and you are silent; The children are dying, and you are silent."

"That's powerful," the man with the megaphone said, "but not rhythmic enough."

"Get out..." he shouted again. "...from Lebanon!" the crowd yelled back.

Auslander, who immigrated from Washington, DC, 23 years ago, likened yesterday's protests to some of the anti-Vietnam War vigils of the Sixties and Seventies. Perhaps her memory was jogged by a man singing in Hebrew, "Where have all the flowers gone," one of the anthems of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations.

"There is one big difference," she said. "The people here are much more polite."

Indeed, yesterday's protest passed without incident. At one time, the group surged into the street, blocking traffic for a few minutes,

but were pushed by police back onto a sidewalk.

Another former American at the protest, Lynn Griver, who immigrated from New York 22 years ago, also reflexively compared yesterday's protest to the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations that she took part in.

Griver is now a mother of two living in Gadera. She has one son in the IDF, slated to go to Lebanon in a few months. The placard she held read, "Keep the soldiers on our side."

Griver said she probably would have joined the protest even if her children were done with the army, but the fact that her son is in uniform and due to serve in Lebanon has given her added incentive.

"I think it is wrong to be in the security zone," she said. "Too many have been killed there to justify the cost. It is time to rethink the policy."

## Fallen soldiers laid to rest

By DAVID RUDGE

Staff-Sgt. Ohad Nahmias, one of the two soldiers killed in the bomb blast in the western sector of the security zone late on Thursday night, was laid to rest yesterday.

Hundreds of people attended the funeral of Nahmias, 20, from Acre, at the military cemetery in Nahariya. His comrade Staff-Sgt. Eyal Cohen, 20, of Beersheba, who was also killed in the Hizbullah attack, was buried at the military cemetery in his home town on Friday.

Two other soldiers were lightly wounded in the same incident, which occurred near the IDF's Karkum outpost when two separate bombs were detonated alongside a unit composed of Armored Corps troops and soldiers from the Nahal Brigade who were travelling in two tanks and an armored personnel carrier.

One of the soldiers, an officer, is still detained in Nahariya government hospital where his condition yesterday was reported to be improved. He was visited yesterday by President Ezer Weizman.

The other wounded soldier, whose condition was also reported to have improved, was transferred to a hospital in the center of the country at the request of his family.

Three other soldiers who were wounded - two of them seriously - in fighting in the security zone last week are being treated in Haifa's Rambam hospital.

Alexei Yermanko, who lost both legs during a Hizbullah mortar and anti-tank missile attack on the IDF's Dila'at outpost, was reported to be recovering slowly, but still faces a very long rehabilitation process. His comrade who was also badly wounded in the same incident is still in a serious condition in Rambam's intensive care unit.

Yermanko's parents who were brought from Russia to be at his bedside, left the hospital for the first time yesterday to receive their Israeli identity cards at the Interior Ministry's offices in Haifa, under a speedy immigration and absorption process.



Ludmila and Valentin Yermanko, whose son Alexei lost both legs in a Lebanon ambush last week, receive their Israeli citizenship yesterday at Haifa's Interior Ministry office, a few days after arriving from Russia and deciding to settle here.

The third soldier wounded in a separate incident on the same day of fighting in south Lebanon, Lt. Bram Spiro, was reported to be making satisfactory progress. His

parents arrived in Israel at the end of last week from Holland to be with their son.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visited wounded sol-

diers at Rambam yesterday following a visit to the north and meetings with senior officers of Northern Command over the situation in south Lebanon.

## PA

Continued from Page 1

The proceeds from the mortgage repayments were intended to finance further construction.

Instead, building costs rose to about \$50,000 a unit - 80 percent higher than planned - because of the split-level construction, entry-phone systems, and expensive elevators.

This made the apartments "inaccessible to the layer of the population for which they were planned," according to the EU auditors.

President Bill Clinton will open

the morning session of today's donor conference.

A senior American official said the US views the gathering, formally called the Conference to Support Middle East Peace and Development, as necessary to "reinforce the process politically with an economic dimension again."

Israel's delegation arrived yesterday and held a series of preparatory meetings. Foreign Ministry Director-General Eytan Bentsur, who heads the delegation, was expected to arrive last night from London.

Israel is not intending to donate

a specific sum, but will propose a major water desalination project for which it will seek support, principally from Japan and the European Union, Ambassador to the US Zalman Shoval said yesterday.

Water Commissioner Meir Ben-Meir is in the Israeli delegation.

At a 1993 donor conference, Israel pledged \$75 million to the Palestinians' infrastructure development needs. This time, "I don't think our function is to pledge money," but rather "to recommend projects," Shoval said.

He left the door open, though, to Israel's possibly making a finan-

cial pledge, saying that that would be determined during the conference.

Arafat arrived Saturday night and was scheduled to meet with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright yesterday. He will also meet with Clinton this morning.

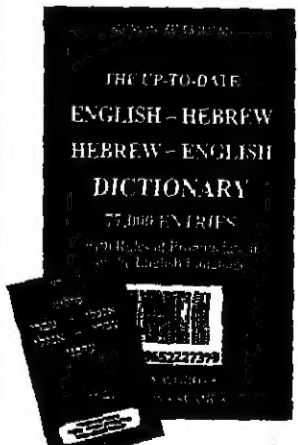
The conference will assess additional needs in the territories and will launch what the US views as the next five-year period of assistance programs.

Israel is also hoping that the presence of several Arab foreign ministers will provide an opportunity to hold informal bilateral talks.

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## LEBANON

Continued from Page 1

He said the eight-month-old initiative to withdraw from Lebanon under the auspices of UN Security Council Resolution 425 could not be declared dead.

Sharon said the Lebanese government, not Syria, bears responsibility over its own territory.

"The two issues [Syria and Lebanon] must be separated. The Lebanese government is responsible in Lebanon, while Syria bears responsibility for negotiations with Syria," Sharon said.

He favors a staged withdrawal from Lebanon if no agreement can be reached with Beirut, and said such a withdrawal should be combined with warnings of fierce reprisals should terrorists launch cross-border attacks.

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid said that "Sharon should try to renew

the talks with Syria instead of faking solutions to the Lebanese problem in a cynical attempt to fudge his responsibility for the tragedy."

The focus of the briefing by the defense establishment to the security cabinet dealt mainly with how to reduce the human costs of safeguarding the residents of the North, not the pros and cons of a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon.

The army's position, which was backed by the Defense Ministry, was that a withdrawal under present circumstances would likely cost more soldiers than staying put.

The picture presented by Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz, OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Gaby Ashkenazy, and senior intelligence officers is that the army is severely restricted in its tactics because of the Grapes of Wrath agreement, which for-

bids strikes at targets in civilian areas.

"The army operates according to the missions given to it. If [the government] tells us to kill as many Hizbullah [fighters] as possible without regard to the Grapes of Wrath agreements, it would be a whole new ball game," a senior IDF commander said prior to the meeting.

A senior intelligence officer who briefed the ministers believes that Syria is behind the current intensification of Hizbullah attacks. He said that Syria wants to quash any initiative to quit Lebanon in a political arrangement, thus linking Lebanon with negotiations over the Golan Heights.

Mofaz rejected any action against Syria or civilian targets, saying Israel does not want to open another front.

The defense establishment's position was consolidated following a five-hour discussion held until early yesterday morning in Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai's office. Unanimously ruling out a withdrawal, the talks focused on reviewing the tactical steps to better protect troops, mainly through improved doctrine and a further reduction of movement in Lebanon.

A senior commander acknowledged that the army does not

We mourn the passing of

**Rabbi ABBIE "Albert" PATTSNICK** of Baltimore, Md.

Shiva at the home of Libby Pattashnick 19 Metudella St., Rehavia, Jerusalem

His sisters: Jessica Sugarman, Netanya Libby Pattashnick, Jerusalem

סלי מן האל



## Landau to set up ideological group

By SARAH HONIG

After accusing the Likud leadership of "having drained the party of principle," MK Uzi Landau announced yesterday that he is setting up a new ideological circle.

Landau, a staunch opponent of the Wye deal, is often mentioned on the far right as a possible alternative candidate for the premiership. He heads the Likud executive and is chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.

Landau sent a letter to all party central committee members, inviting them to join his new group and at the same time promising all to join full anonymity, if they desire, presumably to avoid any vindictiveness by the party establishment.

In his letter, Landau said that "what the Likud needs is a leadership which speaks the truth. We need another Likud, a clean idealistic Likud, whose forums actually function."

According to Landau, all party funds are being earmarked for the next contest for the premiership, abandoning the party branches.

He also accused "the present leadership" - he never mentions Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu by name - of "having broken promises made to the voters... There is now little difference between the Likud's leadership and that of Labor."

This is seen as a major expression of defiance against Netanyahu ahead of the potentially explosive debate to co-opt hundreds of Geshet members into the 2,700-member Likud central committee, as part of the price for merging Geshet back into the Likud and returning its leader David Levy into the cabinet.

The central committee is due to deliberate the issue in two weeks.

The negotiations with Levy have not yet been concluded, but the Levy side says the "considerable progress had been made" in talks which began Saturday night and continued yesterday.

In the Likud, the feeling is less upbeat because of the fear that the deal will generate great opposition in the central committee which will cut across factional lines. There are many in the party leadership who predict that Netanyahu will have severe trouble getting the deal approved, and might even fail.

Netanyahu and Levy have yet to meet since they made up last week. Levy is still to announce which portfolio he will take, neither has there yet been any agreement about exactly how many new central committee members Geshet will be allowed.

The Likud negotiators - headed by Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi and party attorney Eitan Haberman - point out that Levy had left behind plenty of his loyalists in the central committee when he quit the Likud several years ago.

Not all committee members of the former Levy faction made the formal move out of the Likud. While the Likud tried to reduce the number of Geshet members to join the central committee, Geshet - represented by activist David Appel and attorney Dror Hoter-Yishai - want as many as 500.

## IDF closes Erez VIP crossing

By MARGOT DUKKEVITCH

OC Southern Command Maj-Gen. Yomtov Samia yesterday barred Palestinian VIPs from using the special crossing designated for them at the Erez checkpoint, after Palestinian security officials barred Israeli trucks carrying construction material from entering Netzarim.

Residents of Netzarim later blocked the road to protest the Palestinian action, which they said is a daily occurrence.

Palestinian security officials declared that construction in the settlements is a violation of the Wye accords.

Brig-Gen. Saeb Ajaj, Palestinian security commander in northern Gaza confirmed that security forces had prevented trucks from entering Netzarim, saying, "These trucks were carrying construction materials to the settlement in order to add new housing units."

Declaring that the Palestinians had gone too far, the IDF responded by barring the Palestinian VIPs from using the special passage.

Shlomo Dror, the coordinator for activities in the territories, said the VIPs could use the same crossing as the Palestinian laborers and added that Israeli officials would have to meet with Palestinian Authority officials and find a solution to the problem.

Meanwhile, the IDF and police intervened after violence broke out between residents of Beit El and Palestinians from Ein Yabrud protesting attempts by settlers to refurbish a house that lies at the edge of the settlement. The army declared the area a closed military zone.

The settlers started renovating the building last week and claimed that Palestinians ransacked the



IDF medics treat a Palestinian demonstrator injured by a stone thrown by a Beit El resident yesterday.

(AP)

building and stole some of the equipment they had left there.

The sides agreed to disperse only after receiving assurance that the IDF would remain at the site until the Civil Administration ruled on the ownership of the house. Lt. Peter Lerner, spokesman for the Civil Administration, said he believes the home belonged to a

local villager but that officials are still investigating.

Nationwide demonstrations to protest further withdrawal from the West Bank and other protest strategies to be taken were discussed at an emergency meeting held at Kfar Habad last night. Guest speaker was Shabtai Bloch of Safed, who was suspected of attempting to

harm Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and released from police custody last week.

Habad spokesman Shai Geffen said the protest activities are being funded by Rabbi Meir Gutnick of the USA, an uncle of the Australian millionaire Yosef Gutnick.

The movement condemned the Australian millionaire's recent

interviews in the Israeli press and declared that his support for Netanyahu is not representative of the Habad movement.

Geffen said the Habad leadership was outraged over Gutnick's statements regarding Bloch, whom he called an extremist. "Bloch is one of the movement's regional activists," he said.

## PA negotiator Asfour walks out on Naveh

By LIAT COLLINS

Palestinian negotiator Hassan Asfour yesterday walked out of a meeting on implementing the Wye agreement which he and chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat were holding with Cabinet Secretary Dani Naveh.

"I stormed out of the meeting in anger over Israel's policy on settlements and prisoners which aims at destroying the accords," Asfour told Reuters.

"We informed the Americans of the situation and we demand a clear US position on the issues of settlements and prisoners."

The Palestinians have been angered by Israel's inclusion of common criminals in the release of the first third of the 750 prisoners due to be released in three months under the Wye agreement.

In response, Naveh said Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had made it clear during negotiations last month that Israel would not free murderers, terrorists with blood on their hands or Hamas and Islamic militants.

Erekat told Reuters: "We demanded that we review the names of the prisoners with them, name by name, and I asked the Israeli government not to implement the agreement regarding the prisoners if it will be based on their categories."

In a convention in Jerusalem yesterday marking 50 years of Israeli diplomacy, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon called the Palestinian refugee issue "an open wound."

"The problem of the refugees from 1967 and 1948 exists. Israel from its establishment and throughout several years absorbed nearly a million immigrants from Arabic-speaking countries," Sharon said.

Sharon presented a plan under which Israel must define how it wants to see the peace at the end of the process in terms of diplomatic relations and normalization, economics, anti-terror and educating the young for peace.

He also called for all the countries involved in the peace effort to demonstrate their commitments through joint regional development projects such as seawater desalination plants. He said such projects create cooperation as well as solving the problems such as lack of water.

"[There must be] mutual dependency in these enterprises so that each of the sides in a moment of anger, pain or resentment will remember that it has something to lose," Sharon said.

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TRAVEL WITH THE EXPERTS



## NEWS

in brief

## Suspected accomplice in PM attack surrenders

Yitzhak Maoz, 51, suspected of being an accomplice of Shabbetai Bloch, the Habad hassid suspected of planning to attack Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in Safed 10 days ago, turned himself in yesterday to Safed police. Bloch has denied any plan to attack the prime minister, saying he opposes all violence. *Ilm*

## Poll: 45% of women diet

Forty-five percent of all Israeli women went on a diet this year, according to a survey conducted by Geocartography. The main age groups who were dieting were 25-34 and 45-54. Dieters were more likely to belong to the higher income groups. Haredi and modern Orthodox women are now as likely to be on diets as secular and traditional women. According to the representative sample of 500 women, nearly a quarter complained about difficulties in sticking to their diet, and 18% said they suffered from frequent feelings of hunger, while 9% said they were nervous and 8% weakened by the diet. *Judy Siegel*

## Loans to public hospitals running out

Public hospital directors plan to meet in a few days to discuss the deteriorating financial condition of their institutions, as NIS 150 million in loans granted by the Finance Ministry over a month ago are running out. Prof. Ya'acov Hart, the chairman of the hospital directors' association said yesterday.

Hart said that the voluntary hospitals - Hadassah-University Hospitals, Shaare Zedek, Bikur Holim, Misgav Ladach, and Laniado, which are owned neither by the government nor Kupat Holim Clalit - are in the worst straits because they have to pay monthly salaries out of their own pocket. *Judy Siegel*

## Weizman urges students to go back to class

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Like a wise grandfather offering advice to his slightly wild grandchild, President Ezer Weizman yesterday told striking students to "concentrate on your studies" instead of a social revolution, and return to class.

However, at press time, negotiations were still stalled, with student leaders still holding out for a change in a section of the proposed agreement with the government, so that it includes more students in a plan to reduce tuition in exchange for community service. The students also want the scope of such activity widened beyond purely educational projects.

"You've achieved many important things, you've put yourselves on the map," Weizman told the students, many of whom participated in the hunger strike outside the Prime Minister's Residence, just a few blocks away.

Indeed, the juice and petit fours served at the President's House looked particularly appetizing in light of what the students, some of whom are still conducting a sitdown strike outside the Prime Minister's Residence, underwent until calling off the hunger strike at Weizman's request Thursday.

Still they were having a hard time swallowing the offer made by the Treasury, with the backing of the Prime Minister's Office, which National Union of Israeli Students leader Lior Rothbart told Weizman is insufficient.

After thanking Weizman for his intervention on their behalf, and that of Aryeh Shumer, director-general of the President's Office, Rothbart said the proposed solu-

tion would only allow 10% of the students to participate in community service programs which would grant them reduced tuition. "We feel as if we have been hoodwinked," Rothbart said.

"What do you want?" shot back Weizman, the two engaging in a brief discussion of the issues. "I'm not sure you're doing the right thing," Weizman told the students, advising them that public support for them, in his view, is beginning to ebb.

Weizman said the "social revolution" the students say they are seeking "wasn't part of your original demands," and sabb talk "sounds a little bit shrill" to me. "There's no chance that if I ask you to go back to class you'll go back?" Weizman asked Rothbart. "I promise we'll return," Rothbart said.

"That's like saying that one day there will be peace," Weizman snapped. "Go back to classes...it's worth finishing with it. You're on the inside pages of the newspaper now...You fought, you worked, you starved. Now end it with the special things you've already accomplished."

There was a clear rapport between Weizman and Rothbart, the president pausing to ask if the 28-year-old Rothbart had a prospective bride yet, or whether he remembered to wear his helmet when he rides his motor scooter.

But his message to the students, who insisted they were serious about the social revolution part of their message, was simple: "Finish it," he said, "and leave the revolution for three or four years from now."

## Production phase of Arrow 2 begins

By ARYEH O'SULLIVAN

The Air Force took symbolic delivery of the Arrow 2 anti-ballistic missile yesterday marking the start of the project entering the production-line phase.

Defense industry officials said that production was being launched although the missile was still at a testing stage, but that the rocket could be used in an emergency situation.

A modest, but symbolic handover to the Air Force and the Ministry of Defense of the Arrow 2 missile took place yesterday in a ceremony at the Beer Ya'akov plant of MLM, the Israel Aircraft Industries' (IAI) subsidiary producing the Arrow missile.

Participating in the ceremony were OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliyahu and top defense officials including Dani Peretz, director of the Arrow project and Uzi Rubin, director of the "Wall" anti-ballistic missile project in the Defense Ministry.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai also

took time out from discussions on the Lebanon front to attend the ceremony.

The ceremony marks the point in which the jointly funded US-Israeli missile has in essence ended its development stage and the IAI starts mass production. More missiles are to be finished shortly, defense sources said.

The defense ministry said that the Arrow 2 missiles now being produced were to be used for further tests, "but they can also be used as operational missiles if necessary."

But executives at IAI said the missile is still not cleared for operation and will undergo at least two more test firings before the first batteries are deployed, toward the end of 1999.

"Delivery of the first production line Arrow 2 missile, particularly on the 29th of November (the day the UN recognized the right for a Jewish state in partitioned Palestine) is the best present that the defense industries can give the state of Israel in order to deal with the most danger-

ous, and likely existential threats developing in the region. With the help of the Arrow we will put up a nearly total defensive wall against present and future threats," Mordechai said.

Officially, the Arrow 2 will now undergo tests and examinations by the Air Force and Ministry of Defense to make sure everything is up to standard. But the symbolic handover of the Arrow 2 shows great confidence in Israel that the missile hunter will work.

Defense executives said the overlapping stage was typical in weapons development.

The Green Pine Early Warning and fire-control system, built by Elta, as well as the Citron battle management system, developed by Tadiran, have already been rushed into service and are currently in operation in the Air Force. The Air Force has also started training forces to operate the Arrow 2 batteries.

The Arrow 2 missile should be deployed in a limited operational "emergency" capac-

ity by late 1999, early 2,000, said an official.

The next test of the solid-fuel Arrow 2 is slated for mid 1999 and defense sources said at least one more successful trial is needed to call the Arrow 2 operational. The last Arrow 2 test in September 14, its sixth flight, was against a virtual target and the next trial will be against a real incoming missile.

When it is deployed, Israel will become the first country with anti-ballistic missile capability, even in its limited form. According to its original 1986 schedule, the Arrow system should have been operationally functional in 1995.

About \$1 billion has so far been invested in the project, most of it paid for by the Americans. But the final bill is expected to double that with the cost per missile estimated at about \$2 million each. This cost could be reduced if the Arrow 2 is sold to other countries which have expressed interest such as Great Britain, Turkey and Japan.

## Knesset panel to tackle Beersheba ethnic tensions

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

The Knesset Absorption Committee is to hold a special session in the office of Beersheba Mayor Ya'acov Temer today to discuss the latest in a series of incidents reflecting growing tension between immigrants and native-born Israelis.

The latest incident occurred recently in a Beersheba school, where a slogan was written on the wall of a school, where speaking Russian during class is forbidden, saying: "We survived Hitler, we'll survive you, too."

Slogans were also written in Hebrew saying: "You're acting like Hitler," and "Russian is my language."

The ethnic tension between native-born Israelis and immigrants is "frightening, and I ask where are we headed?" committee chairwoman Naomi Blumenthal said yesterday.

"The incident in Beersheba is not the first and unfortunately won't be the last," she said. "We must put a halt to the ethnic rift, and quickly."

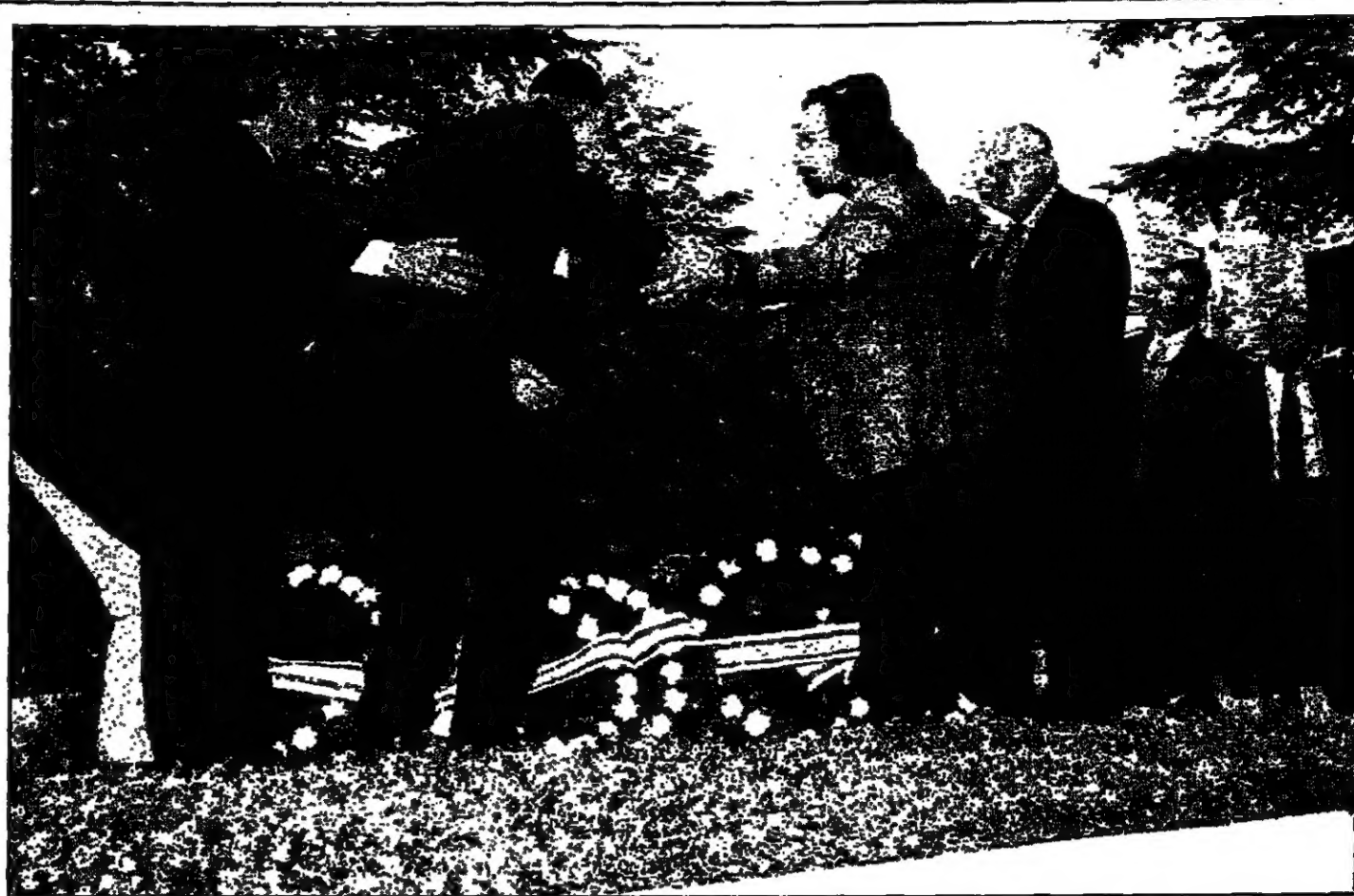
Blumenthal said she would ask the education minister to take action on the matter.

An Education Ministry spokesman said in response that there had not been any directive barring the pupils from speaking Russian in the classroom. Rather the teachers had asked the pupils not to speak Russian during class "so that they could better ascertain whether all the students understood the material, and to improve the overall atmosphere in the classroom."

The school in question had absorbed many Russian immigrants, and that the matter had been blown out of proportion in the media, the spokesman added.

Meanwhile, Education Minister Yitzhak Levy yesterday heard a report from the principal of the Gymnasia Herzliya regarding allegations of racist remarks made by both Ashkenazi and Sephardi pupils during a recent school trip to Eilat.

A spokesman for Levy said he accepted the principal's claims that the matter was dealt with the day it happened and that the school is continuing to conduct discussions with the pupils on the issue.



## Remembering Golda Meir

President Ezer Weizman is helped by Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav (left) and a relative of the late prime minister Golda Meir yesterday, after he tripped over a wreath during a memorial marking 20 years since Meir's death. At right are MK Ruby Rivlin, a security guard, and Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg. Weizman later joked with visiting students that he was limping because "I tripped over Golda's grave and landed on a wreath from the Labor Party."

(Shem-Tov/Hazari)

## Haredim attack messianic group in Beersheba

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Christian leaders yesterday responded angrily to being told to hire their own security guards after an incident on Saturday in which hundreds of angry haredim attacked a Beersheba Messianic congregation.

Beersheba police spokesman Shalom Ben-Hemo said that a crowd of hundreds had surrounded the building in which the congregation meets. He said that the police told the worshippers they would keep an eye on the building during their regular patrols, but that the congregation itself should be on the lookout for possible troublemakers.

Charles Kopp, chairman of the United Christian Council in Israel, said yesterday that Christians and others have a right to worship in peace without fear of being attacked. He noted that police in many countries keep a steady guard on synagogues when there are fears of possible attacks.

"If it were a synagogue in Lincoln, Nebraska, the police would stay there until they caught the perpetrators. We are a small minority in this country, but we want the same rights as others," he said.

Olavi Syvanto, a member of the congregation, said that considering the size of the crowd and the relatively small number of police,

the latter did their job well, preventing the crowd from entering the building, which the congregation rents from the Christian Missionary Alliance and which has served as a church since it was built in 1921.

However he also pointed out that a local Christian Bible shop had had its windows smashed four times and was once gutted by a fire, which the police described as arson, but those guilty had never been found.

Syvanto noted that the crowd had been incited by a false rumor that the worshippers intended to baptize Jewish children.

"We don't believe in infant baptism. We don't even baptize our

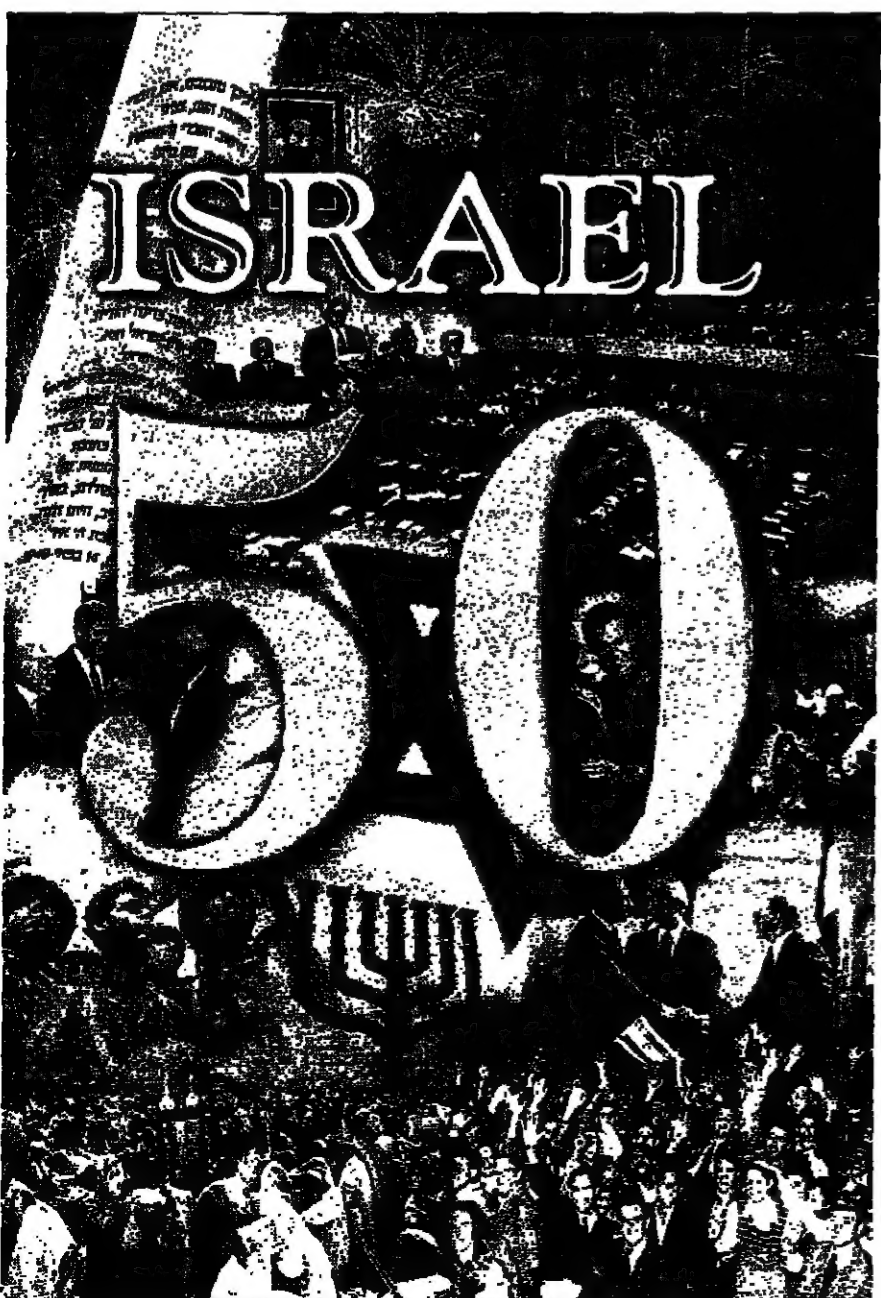
own children," he said.

A local resident who has no connection with the congregation and came upon the scene by chance described it as a pogrom.

"I witnessed a pogrom, there can be no other word for it," said Nathan Aridan, a lecturer in history at Ben-Gurion University.

He said he was walking with his family when they saw a huge throng besieging the house, with about a hundred haredim hurling stones and abuse at people inside. One of the crowd told him these were messianic Jews who were forcibly baptizing Jewish children.

He said that when he tried to reason with the mob and tell them that what they were doing was similar to what his grandfather had suffered in Eastern Europe, he was told that if he was a real Jew he would join them in attacking those inside.



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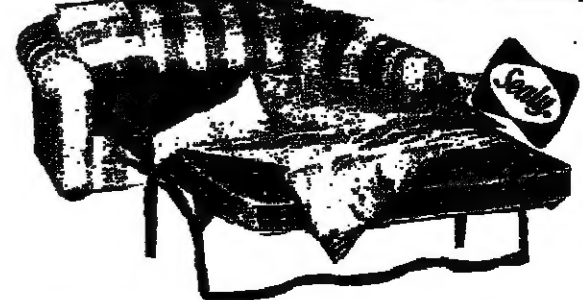
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# Saddam's half-brother leaves for Iraq

GENEVA (Reuters) - Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's half-brother Barzan Tufayli flew from Geneva to Amman yesterday, saying he was travelling on to Baghdad, eyewitnesses said.

They said Barzan, a former intelligence chief and Iraq's envoy to the UN's European headquarters for the past decade, took a flight of Royal Jordanian Airlines.

When asked if he was going on from Amman to Baghdad, the witnesses said, Barzan replied: "Yes, I am." The official, who Arab diplomats say had earlier declined to return to the Iraqi capital despite

being recalled, is widely believed to be on bad terms with Saddam's son Uday.

Uday is said by Iraqi exiles to have been linked to the killing of two other relatives when they returned from Jordan to Baghdad three years ago after seeking asylum abroad.

Last week Barzan, whose formal permission to stay in Switzerland ran out on November 30, buried his wife Ahlam, 43, who had died of cancer in a Swiss hospital.

In an interview with the London-based *Asharq al-Awsat* newspaper last month, Barzan denied reports of a rift between him-

self and the Iraqi leader.

Swiss officials gave Barzan, who resigned as Iraq's envoy in Geneva last August, until November 30 to leave the country, granting him the normal three-month diplomatic courtesy period.

Geneva cantonal officials had declined all comment on the politically sensitive case, citing confidentiality rules.

A Foreign Ministry spokeswoman in Bern said she had no information about Barzan's departure.

A Swiss federal official said last week that Geneva authorities were taking a second

look at a request from Barzan's six children to stay on in light of their mother's recent death.

After her death, federal authorities, who had not yet acted on the cantonal recommendation, passed the file back to Geneva for review, according to the official at the Federal Office for Foreigners in Bern.

Several Arab diplomats said Barzan had fallen out years ago with Saddam's volatile son Uday.

"His relations with home are not warm. They have been cut since the Gulf War," one envoy said last week.

## WORLD

in brief

### Pope starts 2000 countdown

VATICAN CITY (Reuters) - Pope John Paul yesterday began his Church's countdown to 2000, issuing an edict which declares it a Holy Year and tells Catholics what they can do to pass through the pearly gates of heaven faster. The edict includes ways of earning indulgences to help get to heaven in the fast lane, including by abstaining from smoking and drinking during the Holy Year, and by giving to charity. The 78-year-old Pope, looking tired at times, presided at a three-hour ceremony in St Peter's Basilica marking the official start of the third and final phase of preparations for 2000. The Holy Year starts on Christmas eve, 1999 and ends on January 6, 2001.

### Iran says no need for relations with US

DUBAI (Reuters) - Iran's Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi was quoted yesterday as saying Iran did not feel the need to establish relations with the US, the official news agency IRNA said. It said Kharrazi told a visiting Libyan official that the United States was not ready to establish ties based on mutual respect and equality and "wanted relations based on domination." IRNA's report was monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

### Swiss voters reject bid to legalize drugs

ZURICH (Reuters) - Swiss voters yesterday rejected by 3-1 a sweeping proposal to legalise narcotics. The initiative fell short when it failed to carry a majority of Swiss cantons, the Swiss SDA news agency reported. The plan would have made Switzerland the only country in the world where anyone aged 18 or older could buy narcotics of their choice, from marijuana to heroin, from state-run outlets or pharmacies after consultation with a physician.

### Yeltsin feels better but must stay indoors

MOSCOW (Reuters) - Boris Yeltsin feels better but doctors are advising the 67-year-old Russian president to stay in hospital to complete his recovery from pneumonia, the chief Kremlin spokesman said yesterday. "Everything's going to plan, the necessary course of treatment is being carried out," Dmitry Yakushkin told Ekho Moskvy radio, adding that Yeltsin's "fairly lengthy" meeting on Saturday with security adviser Nikolai Bordyuzha was an indication of how much better the president was feeling.

### Bosnia Serbs exhume 55 bodies

SARAJEVO (Reuters) - Bosnian Serb experts have exhumed 55 bodies from sites at two Sarajevo cemeteries near the former frontline but there was disagreement yesterday whether they were actually mass graves or not. The exhumation work, which started on Thursday, was completed on Saturday, daily *Dnevni Avaz* reported. The bodies were transported to Lukavica, a Sarajevo suburb which is part of the Bosnian Serb republic. Autopsies and identifications were expected to start next week.

### German village votes over transsexual mayor

QUELLENDORF, Germany (Reuters) - This east German village went to the polls yesterday to decide whether to expel its mayor for becoming a transsexual. Michaela Lindner, 40, assumed a female identity earlier this year while waiting for a sex-change operation. Quellendorf, near Leipzig, was aghast when Norbert Lindner, married with two children, of the reform communist Party of Democratic Socialism, became Michaela. Lindner has accused the villagers of intolerance, while they say the mayor has disturbed their tranquillity by courting publicity.

## UK, Chile deny deal to send Pinochet home

LONDON (Reuters) - Britain and Chile yesterday denied they had struck a deal to release former dictator Augusto Pinochet from custody in exchange for a guarantee that he would face trial in Chile.

The denials followed reports in two Sunday newspapers that an agreement had been reached. "There is no deal," said a British government spokesman. "The position is unchanged from last week. [Home Secretary] Jack Straw will make the decision in a quasi-judicial capacity. It is about extradition to Spain and he has always made clear it is not a political decision."

Chile's Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Insulza also denied that he is negotiating a deal.

"I wouldn't say that we were making any deals or we're going through any negotiations. Actually we have not had negotiations saying give him back to us and we will try him," he told BBC television.

Pinochet, 83, who is a senator for life in Chile, was arrested in a London clinic on October 16 following a request from two Spanish judges who want him to face charges of murder, torture, and genocide.

He was granted bail on November 17 on condition he remain under police guard and is currently at a north London clinic where he is recovering from back surgery.

Britain's highest court ruled on Wednesday that Pinochet was not immune from prosecution, opening up the prospect that he could be extradited.



Visiting the troops  
Britain's Prince Andrew, visiting his country's forces in Kuwait, steps out of a Tornado at an air base close to the Iraqi border. (Reuters)

## Congo rebels cast doubts on cease-fire prospects

By MATTHEW BIGG

KIGALI (Reuters) - Rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo said yesterday they are skeptical of a cease-fire deal worked out in their absence at last week's Franco-African summit in Paris and would fight on.

Western diplomats in East Africa also said there are serious doubts on the prospects for a realistic cease-fire in the four-month-old Congo conflict.

Rebel political leader Wamba dia Wamba said he does not dismiss the Paris deal out of hand. But his forces will fight on since their front-line military positions are under constant threat of attack.

"We have always been ready for negotiations, even talks leading to a cease-fire," said dia Wamba, leader of the Congolese Rally for

Democracy (RCD). "But deals that exclude us won't be effective because they won't be implemented."

Confusion surrounded the deal announced in Paris on Saturday by French President Jacques Chirac and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

They described the deal as a breakthrough that would lead to the signing next month of a cease-fire to halt fighting that began on August 2 in Africa's third largest country, and said it had the support of Zimbabwe, Rwanda, and Uganda, as well as of Congo President Laurent Kabila.

But in Paris South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni immediately cast doubt on the deal and said it contains little new.

## India PM: Shakeup won't derail reforms

By NEELISH MISRA

NEW DELHI (AP) - With a stunning defeat in state elections casting a shadow on his government, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee reassured foreign business yesterday that political shake-ups would not affect planned measures to open markets.

"The volatility of Indian democracy will have no fundamental impact on the process of economic reforms in the country," Vajpayee told hundreds of Indian and foreign business leaders at an economic summit organized by the World Economic Forum. The government had "deprioritized the economic agenda," he said.

Vajpayee's Bharatiya Janata Party suffered a series of embarrassing setbacks in the elections to four state assemblies - it lost hold of governments in New Delhi, site of the federal capital, and the western Rajasthan state. The BJP also failed to dislodge the ruling Congress Party in the central state

of Madhya Pradesh. The poor showing in Wednesday's elections was expected to increase difficulties within the 19-party governing coalition, though several of its partners yesterday assured their support to Vajpayee's Hindu nationalist government.

Sonia Gandhi, president of the main opposition Congress Party, said her group would wait for the coalition to crumble on its own, rather than make an immediate attempt to regain power.

Indian business leaders said that domestic and foreign investors were apprehensive about the prospects for economic reforms announced over the past two months.

The government has also announced plans to bring patent laws in line with international norms, to eliminate red tape for incorporating new businesses, to facilitate business ownership of property, and to speed approval of foreign investment in local projects.

## Ecevit: Unity needed to bring Kurdish rebel to trial

By STEVE BRYANT

ANKARA (Reuters) - Deputy Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit yesterday warned that failure to set up a strong new government could harm efforts to try Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan and might put the Islamists back in power.

He called on two rival conservative parties to unite to replace the government of Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, toppled last week over graft allegations.


Otherwise, Ecevit warned, Turkey would be hampered in its attempts to bring Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan to trial in Italy, where he is under house arrest.

"Unless the government problem is solved with speed, this struggle could be hindered and a historic opportunity wasted," Ecevit, now serving in a caretaker administration under Yilmaz, told reporters.

The importance of Turkey of bringing Ocalan to justice was underlined by a general staff statement saying his Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) guerrillas had shot down an army helicopter in the southeast, killing 16 troops.

"The helicopter crashed after light arms fire from terrorists on the ground struck the pilot, who lost control," state-run Anatolian news agency quoted the military as saying.

Turkey holds Ocalan personally responsible for more than 29,000 deaths in the PKK's 14-year-old conflict for self-rule in the mainly-Kurdish southeast.



The Israel Airports Authority

**SUPPLY OF GRANITE FLOORING REQUEST FOR INFORMATION**

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) is currently in the process of constructing a new terminal complex at Ben Gurion International Airport and is contemplating purchasing approximately 65,000m<sup>2</sup> of granite from the Madurai region of Southern India, for laying by others in the Landside and Airside Terminal Buildings of the Ben Gurion 2000 Project.

The majority of the granite to be (select) purchased will be Rare Ivory, Ivory Madurai with grey and beige background while the balance will be small quantities of various types of Raw Silk in light pink tones and Kashmir White, to be defined later.

The granite will be supplied, cut and finished to comply with the IAA's rigorous technical specification and will be delivered to the Ben Gurion 2000 Project Site under the sole responsibility of the Supplier. All required shop drawings and quality control ticketing will be a part of the Suppliers Scope of Work.

It is anticipated that the materials will be delivered to the Project over an eighteen (18) month period commencing from August 1999. The Scope of Work will obligate the Supplier to provide partial shipments to meet interim milestones; schedules that support the construction activities of the Installation Contractors.

The IAA is seeking to pre-qualify interested parties with the required ability and knowledge to import stone from India and who are able to meet the following criteria:

1. The party must have experience in buying/selling natural stone in the international market place, in quantities of at least 25,000m<sup>2</sup>, in each of the last 5 years.
2. The Party must have financial capacity to demonstrate a turnover (from natural stone materials alone), during each of the last three years.
3. The Party must be able to provide a Bank Guarantee, in an amount to be determined by the IAA, through an Israeli Bank (or back to back with an Israeli Bank) from the time of the acceptance of the Suppliers Financial Proposal by the IAA until all materials have been delivered to the site and accepted by the IAA.

The IAA will select a shortlist of suitable parties based on the above criteria, or additional criteria as deemed appropriate, at the IAA's sole discretion.

If your organization considers itself suitable then it should prepare a submittal confirming that you are able to meet all of the abovementioned criteria. Your submittal should be attested to by an independent attorney/advocate to your organization. In addition, you may wish to include any other relevant information that you consider appropriate (e.g. examples of similar completed transactions).

Your submittal should be addressed to the undersigned and delivered to reach the following address by no later than 12 noon, Sunday, 6 December 1998:

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# Farewell to Jewish gene-ius

Are there genes that make Jews smarter than other people? Prof. Robert Pollack, a smart Jew and a renowned geneticist, doesn't think so.

Pollack shared the podium with Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz at a recent session of the General Assembly of Jewish federations devoted to the charged subject of Jewish traits and their possible genetic origin.

Steinsaltz, one of the most distinguished contemporary rabbinic figures, argued that 100 generations of "natural selection," as he was bold enough to put it, had inbred traits into the Jewish people necessary for survival in a hostile world.

These traits, he suggested, ranged from intelligence to pushiness.

"If Jews weren't pushy, they couldn't have survived. But they also had to be intelligent and have a great ability to keep the faith."

Pollack countered that while certain traits may be widespread among Jewish people, they are not derived from parental sperm and egg, but from cultural traditions handed down through the generations.

"The best of our lives can be transmitted only by teaching, not by DNA," he said. Pollack, who teaches at Columbia University, where he was formerly dean, worked for years with James Watson, a co-discoverer of DNA's double-helix structure.

The dismissal of specific "Jewish genes" as a formative factor has far-reaching implications, since it leaves the fate of the Jewish people hostage entirely to external factors rather than linking it as well to some inner, programmed destiny.

The danger lies in the fact that the Jewish people, rushing in the past two generations into the embrace of a newly accepting world, have been disengaging from their cultural traditions. Pollack noted in a subsequent interview. These traditions, inspired by religious dictates — now waning — as well as by adversity — likewise waning — drove the Jews to heights of achievement.

THE astonishing flowering of Jewish genius and accomplishment in the present century, Pollack believes, may prove to be an autumnal exuberance of color that will be followed by a long, pallid winter in which Jews, 50 years hence, will be no more accomplished than anyone else.

The Yiddish phrase, *A Yid mit zikh mitschen* (a Jew has to struggle), used to be a wry, if obvious, comment on the Jewish condition. In retrospect, the phrase can be seen as the secret formula for Jewish success.

In Pollack's view, the Jews are presently coasting on a momentum built up by past generations that internalized cultural

**Disengaged from the traditions that drove them to excel, 50 years from now Jews will be no more accomplished than anyone else, geneticist Robert Pollack tells Abraham Rabinovich**

norms — particularly the emphasis on learning. "There is a persistence of habits that lasted 1,800 years; but I believe it's running out of steam."

Pollack's own father was a dedicated American communist who spurned religion, but nevertheless passed on to his son the passion for study he had inherited from his own religious parents. Pollack found his way to religion only in recent years, and is now an active member of the Conservative congregation of B'nai Yeshurun on New York's Upper West Side, one of the largest and most vital congregations in the US.

"I'm lucky that I'm immersed in a Jewish world that has caught me in time, that has responded to my instinctive need to study, which I am convinced is a Jewish thing," he said.

The momentum leading to study is giving way, Pollack fears, as Jews come in from the cold to dine at society's High Table and are less and less driven by religious commandments.

"Negative pressures are down," he said. "What youths receive now is an entitlement, rather than something to be fought for and won."

THE argument for a Jewish gene is not absurd on the face of it, since "ethnic" genes have indeed been identified that make Ashkenazi Jews highly prone to specific diseases like Tay-Sachs. This can be attributed, said Pollack, to the fact that after the Chmielnicki massacres in the 17th century, only 3,000 to 10,000 Jewish families survived in the Pale of Russia, an area from which the bulk of Ashkenazi Jewry today stems.

Inbreeding within this small group led to the propagation of genetically transmitted diseases, which persisted as this

core group grew to 10-12 million by the eve of the Second World War. (Ashkenazim who marry Sephardim are spared the risk to their children of these diseases.)

Pollack noted that the diseases are linked to single genes, which make them readily traceable.

"But all characteristics of a person that we perceive to be interesting — like intelligence, kindness, musical ability, obnoxiousness — to the extent that these have a genetic component, it will be contained in thousands or perhaps tens of thousands of genes. We have no capacity at present to measure that." Humans have around 80,000 genes.

"We don't have evidence that, by being born of Jewish parents, we inherit sets of genes that raise our intelligence capacity to a level above other people," said Pollack. "I'm not saying it's not so. I'm just saying we don't know how to measure it."

Standard intelligence tests, said Pollack, are not fair measures, since they employ middle-class codes that are foreign to the less advantaged.

ONE genetic link among Jews that has been established, apart from Ashkenazi diseases, concerns persons named Cohen or variations thereof — by tradition descendants of priestly families. (Cohen in Hebrew means priest.)

Studies have shown that some 70 percent of Sephardi Cohens and 40 percent of Ashkenazi Cohens have the same alignment of Y chromosomes, which come only from the father. This points to descent from a common ancestor.

In Jewish tradition, it was Aaron, brother of Moses, who founded the priestly line.

This remarkable finding also points to the common origin of Sephardim and Ashkenazim, even if the priestly line of the latter would become more diluted. The "Cohen chromosomes," however, deal with function, not with a character trait.

"It reflects an ancient obligation to be a Cohen if your father was," said Pollack.

If the extraordinary prominence that Jews have achieved around the world in the economy and professions, not to mention Nobel laureates, is not to be credited to genes, it can be attributed to something far more commendable: a conscious attempt by Jewish society over the ages to encourage brain stretch.

"It's a triumph of the Jewish family and Jewish values," said Pollack. "We used to be socially stigmatized. At the same time we were taught to reward verbal articulateness, the capacity to think logically, to memorize texts, to talk back, and encouraged to have opinions." When



Pollack: "The best of our lives can be transmitted only by teaching, not by DNA."

(Brian Hentler)

social barriers began to fall and Jews began to penetrate the secular world they came armed with these traits.

"When kids have been rewarded for being bright they have an astonishing leg up on kids whose cultures say you can't be smarter than your father: you can't talk back; mind your manners."

The combination of obnoxiousness and showing off — mentioned by Rabbi Steinsaltz, albeit with a smile, as Jewish traits — together with articulateness and wanting to be right, "these are things that in an academic environment work," Pollack said.

The transition of Jews from outsiders to insiders has reduced their need to excel.

Nowhere are the Jews more "inside" than in Israel — which proves his point, Pollack believes.

"Generations of kibbutz life have produced soldiers second to none, but not someone likely to become a Nobel laureate. The same is true in the yeshivas."

Youthful prodigies are rare, and those Pollack sees in the US are almost always from minority communities. "They're like diamonds that get made under tremendously high pressure."

If there is something that can save the Jews from ordinariness, it is religion, Pollack believes, not necessarily Orthodoxy.

"If your sense of religion is that you

are obligated to a set of things that includes studying every day, that is a structure that brings kids to a higher fraction of their capabilities. You can't be serious about being Jewish without being serious about studying texts. Orthodoxy is not the only way. But there is no low-energy way."

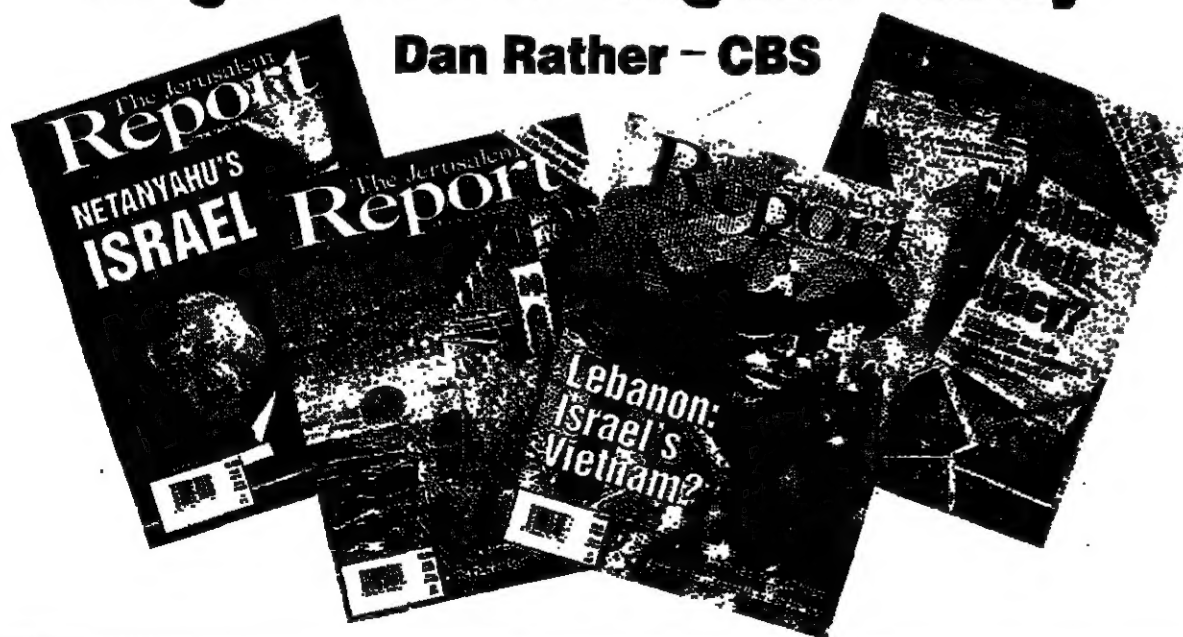
For those who don't accept this challenge, the road ahead promises to be smooth. And uneventful.

"I believe we are seeing a normalization back into the mean of the people around us," said Pollack. "Where will this bring us? I guess to ordinariness." The final Jewish affliction, then, may be normality.

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## Wanted: young and talented spies for a new CIA

**Espionage is the hottest thing around for the supremely qualified in search of a challenging career, writes Vernon Loeb**

On the exhibit floor of the Convention Center in San Antonio, at a college job fair packed with high-tech firms, blue chip companies and police departments from across Texas, Angie Lam hands her resume to a CIA recruiter and asks eagerly whether the agency is looking for engineers.

It's been a long and hectic day at the CIA table, draped in the agency's crest and stocked with giveaway CIA refrigerator magnets, faux Mont Blanc CIA pens and brochures about "life at the Central Intelligence Agency." But weary CIA recruiters know a hot prospect when they see one, and the Trinity University senior's curriculum vitae suggests a world of possibilities: studies in chemical engineering and computer programming, fluency in Mandarin and Cantonese.

"It's whoever gets to her first," says recruiter Gloria Gonzalez, herself a young CIA engineer.

"That's the name of the game." The CIA is hiring again. Arguing that proliferating new dangers are overwhelming intelligence agencies weakened by post-Cold War declines in personnel, the agency has launched its largest recruiting campaign for new spies and analysts in more than a decade.

"The threat environment is growing more diverse, complex and dangerous," CIA director George J. Tenet said in a speech earlier this year that spelled out his strategic vision for the agency. "It's easier and easier for smaller and smaller groups to do more serious damage, with less visibility and warning. The potential for surprise has increased enormously."

Since the end of the Cold War, the CIA has lost more than a quarter of its work force, eroding both its ability to gather intelligence overseas through human sources and to analyze vast quantities of electronic intercepts and satellite imagery pouring into its Langley, Va., headquarters.

The CIA payroll has declined from a peak of about 22,000 employees in the late 1980s — the CIA's exact size is secret — to about 16,000 employees today, sources say.

Alarmed by such retrenchment,

**Advertisements in the major print media contain a question in big, bold type: 'Do you have what it takes?'**

Congress has moved over the past two years to stop the loss of personnel and begin rebuilding the agency's espionage capabilities. It has added enough money to increase the ranks of CIA spies overseas — now thought to number significantly below 1,000 — by 30 percent over the next seven years. This fiscal year, Congress added \$1.5 billion to the budgets of 13 US intelligence agencies. Although the amount of the CIA's share is classified, from \$200 million to \$300 million is thought to have been earmarked for new CIA personnel.

To rebuild, Tenet said, the agency must go back to basics and strengthen its "two most fundamental capabilities," espionage and analysis. One of the things needed to get there, he said, is "a recruitment program that parallels the very best in private industry."

At college job fairs like the one here last week, CIA recruiters have cut the waiting period for a job offer to top prospects from months to within days or weeks of an interview.

Employing this approach, CIA recruiters say they have been holding their own this fall against

private sector competition for candidates with skills such as imagery analysis, engineering, computer science and language fluency in Farsi, Arabic, Korean, Chinese and Japanese.

Angie Lam was seen as such a find precisely because she possessed both technical skills and language fluency.

"I've actually thought about it for a while," Lam said when asked about the prospect of working for the CIA. "The chance to use my language skills and my technical skills really appeals to me."

The search for a new generation of spies, meanwhile, takes place on a parallel track. Moving off campus, agency recruiters host receptions at hotels in cities across America aimed at identifying slightly older prospects, in their mid- to late-twenties, interested in a career in espionage.

A national advertising campaign for "the ultimate international career" has filled these sessions with prospects this fall. Agency officials say they have received double the number of resumes from applicants with overseas experience and language skills who are willing to undergo a rigorous background check and polygraph exam to spy for their nation, all for starting salaries from \$33,302 to \$51,049.

The ads, running in news magazines and major newspapers, contain a question in big, bold type: "Do you have what it takes?" They feature photos of attractive young men and women, the words "integrity," "intellect," "common sense," "patriotism" and "courage" superimposed around their faces.

"This business is becoming very high-tech," Tenet said in his strategic vision speech. "But no matter how technical it becomes, our job is — and always will be — the same: We are in the spy business, we steal secrets, recruit agents, and we do it better than anybody else. And this will not change."

(The Washington Post)

سكرا من الامم



# Total woman, total dance

By HELEN KAYE

Say 'belly-dancing' and watch Oriental dancers wince. The stereotype conjures visions of blowsy eroticism, wailing music and bras stuffed with paper money that are far from the real thing.

"Oriental dancing was exposed to the West when Napoleon's soldiers came to Egypt. They were the ones who gave it a bad name," dancer Elina Pechersky says. She is a master of her art, a teacher and a performer whose show, *One Woman Harem*, will be at the Suzanne Dellal Center in Tel Aviv on Thursday at 9 p.m.

"A harem suggests many women, all of whom are different, and in my dance, their differences coalesce into a single woman," says Pechersky. "When you think about it, the different faces of women are in all women and by connecting to and experiencing all these faces, you approach the whole."

The dance has eight different "characters," each with its own costume by Israeli and Egyptian designers. Each of the characters has her own story expressed in the disparate yet integrated movements of the dance. For example, there's Maya, the embodiment of disappointed maternity, or Zeyna, whose dominant self-confidence is so threatening to men.

The show developed from the methods she uses to teach women, and the performers are mostly women. The basic oriental dance course "is nine months, just like a pregnancy because it develops like a baby that you can continue to nurture when it's born. I believe that the basic movements of oriental dance are archetypal, and natural to a woman's body. They are latent in it, and in the lesson, they stir to life."

In its turn, the method developed from "the things that happened to me and to my students as I learned and started to teach, these were changes that positively affected my self image and the way I perceived myself as a woman. An oriental woman is a state of mind and emotions, not a statement of geographical origin. For me, oriental means more authentic, more connected."



Elina Pechersky: 'An oriental woman is a state of mind and emotions, not a statement of geographical origin.'

Pechersky was born in Leningrad in 1967. She is the granddaughter of one of the earliest Prisoners of Zion and a refusenik. Dr. Gedalia Pechersky, He was head of Leningrad's Jewish community and spent seven years in Siberia before finally being allowed to emigrate to Israel in 1971.

He died in 1976, "and I'm glad he was able to be buried here," says Pechersky, who came with her mother in 1973. The family lived in Jerusalem.

Her interest in oriental dance started when she was 15 and saw it in an Egyptian film. "I can do that, I thought, and was challenged when I couldn't," she says.

She was one of the very first to show an interest in the art, and in those days, there were no teachers in Israel. Her first teacher was an

Armenian who lived in east Jerusalem, which at that time was friendly territory. Asking around for a teacher of oriental dance, Pechersky ended up at Sarkis's barber shop.

A barber by day, Sarkis performed at night. He wasn't a teacher, he told her, but she badgered and wheedled, and finally he said "I'll come to your house and we'll see what you can do." I had a week, and if there hadn't been dancing in the Friday movie that week...

She practiced and practiced the one movement she'd been able to absorb from the film. Sarkis came, put on a tape, and "I started to dance. He said nothing, and then, when I'd finished he said 'You are going to be classic.'"

Pechersky studied with Sarkis for about a year and a half. Many teachers followed, including the

late Ibrahim Farrah, whose master classes were crammed when he came to give a series of workshops at the 1990 Israel Festival.

She started performing when she was in 12th grade, "and my interest in the Orient grew along with my increasing knowledge of the art," which, together with her feelings about the dance itself, led to a bachelor's degree from Tel Aviv University in psychology and Oriental studies.

The subject of her doctoral thesis will be an expansion of "the therapeutic qualities of oriental dance," the dissertation she wrote to get her master's degree in dance therapy from Lesley College in Boston.

To support herself at school, "I accepted every engagement. I danced at parties, weddings, bar mitzvas, everything. Of course I

had to battle the stereotype, and it always insulted me. I've left that far behind me. Today I won't do that. If someone wants me for a party, I tell them that I perform on a stage, as an act. I won't sit on anybody's lap."

Teaching is her major source of income today, and there are long waiting lists for all of her classes. She teaches both privately and at the Wingate Institute, the first academic institution to accept oriental dance as a discipline, she says.

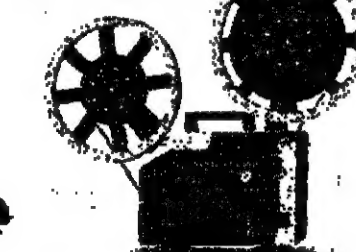
Watching Pechersky on stage evokes the same joy that wells at any task superbly done. She moves with a fluid, seemingly spontaneous economy that allows expressiveness full rein.

What is the essence of oriental dance, I ask.

"Why talk?" she counters. "Just experience. That's the essence."

## Irish road movie brings amiable wit to the genre

### Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

In its lesser moments, Irish director Paddy Breathnach's *I Went Down* feels like a brogu-

### I WENT DOWN

★★★

Directed by Paddy Breathnach. Screenplay by Conor McPherson. Hebrew title: *Bunny*. 95 minutes. English dialogue. Hebrew subtitles. Children under 17 not admitted without an adult.

With Brendan Gleeson, Peter McDonald, Peter Caffrey, Tony Doyle

ish Tarantino rip-off. The Celtic low-lives and crumbums who populate the film spend much of their time driving past green misty fields as they shoot the breeze pungently and prepare to carry out

some criminal act of a deliberately vague and generic sort.

The camera is often placed face up in the back trunk of a car (for distorted effect), as are a couple of gangsters (to keep them quiet). The various sections of the movie are punctuated by irritatingly coy chapter headings, such as: "The value of an education. A shoot-out and a chase with more shooting" or "Some TV. Some R&R. A Discourse in Aesthetics."

In its better, less self-conscious moments, though, the film nimbly asserts its own low-key comic rhythms and allows the characters room and time to develop their dry repartee. And while one may wish that Breathnach and screenwriter Conor McPherson had pushed themselves still further and disposed of the derivative pop-cultural posturing in its entirety, the picture turns out to be a good deal gentler, even sweeter than the ironic B-movies from which it borrows its devices and thrust. (Given the strictures of the form, there's surprisingly little violence at work here: at a certain point, one character even explains to another how to wave a gun around, threaten and frighten people, without ever shooting it off.) The filmmakers also manage to take that un-American genre —



Git (Peter McDonald, left) finds himself in hot water.

the road movie — and turn it into something whose dark wit, lilting pace, and off-beat characters seem Irish to the core.

Much of what's endearing about this picture emerges from the bumbling interactions between the two main characters, a couple of likable losers who don't appear to be out at all for their rough-and-tumble job description — performing errands for a well-heeled, powerful thug. Git (Peter

McDonald) is a bright, clean-cut young guy who's just been released from prison where he was sent for a crime that remains obscure until well into the film. His sidekick, Bunny (Brendan Gleeson), meanwhile, is a pudgy, slightly stupid petty criminal with strawberry blond mutton-chop sideburns and a peculiar fashion sense. He favors string ties, a crucifix, and pointy, two-tone shoes. According to the standard

buddy-movie set-up, the two start out as antagonists and wind up the closest of friends. Git has been blackmailed into performing one last crime before he stops, while Bunny adopts an "I just work here" attitude, preferring to do what he's told, not ask too many questions and keep himself employed — although later it turns out that he too has been forced to take on this job, for rather poignant reasons.

Besides eating chocolate bars by the pile, Bunny likes best to park the car, sit in the driver's seat and read a dime-store novel, moving his lips broadly, while his partner goes inside to do the dirty work. The exact nature of their mission remains fairly confusing throughout, though to Breathnach's credit, and the actors', it hardly seems to matter: the deadpan back-and-forth between the men is the source of the film's quirky charm, and as they trip and fumble their way through the series of messes that inevitably crop up, we find ourselves rooting for them, in all their incompetence. They don't want to hurt anyone. If anything, they're heroic in their winniness, eager to turn their car around and drive away from the action, off into the sunset.

## Sexes fight it out in Channel 1's new whodunit

By BARRY DAVIS

Veteran viewers of BBC crime series — particularly those of the sleepy English village variety — won't be fooled by the tranquil opening scene of the BBC's *The Scold's Bridle* (Channel 1, tonight 8:07). As a rosy-cheeked woman cycles her way innocently along a leafy country lane and pulls up outside a country manor, her arrival is witnessed by an inquisitive, hostile-looking neighbor. Pure curiosity? Or is something infinitely more sinister afoot?

We don't have long to wait, as Jenny — the cyclist, and housekeeper at the manor — takes morning tea upstairs to her mistress only to discover Mathilda Gillespie is, in fact, the late mistress of the manor. Murder or suicide? Enter the law in the form of one Det. Sgt. Cooper (Bob Peck), together with our heroine Dr. Sarah Blakeney (Miranda Richardson).

The tone of the relationship between detective and doctor is set as they inspect the scene of the death and Cooper chivalrously apologizes to the doctor for subjecting her to such a gruesome scene. "Why," fires back the more politi-

cally correct doctor, "did you think I'd become hysterical?"

The battle-of-the-sexes scenario is further compounded when Blakeney explains to Cooper the purpose of the grotesque iron contraption on the deceased's head. "It's a scold's bridle. It was used to silence nagging women."

As the investigation gets underway, the roll call of suspects begins to unravel in true whodunit style. The victim's embittered daughter, Joanna, was not best loved by her mother and the riches she could expect to inherit are motive enough for murder. And what of Joanna's disgruntled daughter, Ruth? She, too could take a step nearer financial security with her grandmother out of the way.

Then there's Dr. Blakeney's philandering artist husband, Jack. His working conditions would surely be greatly enhanced by the support of a wealthy patron from whom he may have been trying to extort funds. But, when Cooper informs Blakeney that Jack's alibi involves flirtatious activity with another woman, the piqued doctor replies: "He may cheat, but he doesn't lie." And Dr. Blakeney's receptionist Jane is obviously hiding something.

When she returns home from work one day, her ailing husband rails against her late arrival, angrily declaring that Jane had always wanted Mathilda out of the way and that he was next on the list.

Jane does nothing to dispel our misgivings when she soothes her husband by assuring him that: "The past is over and forgotten."

But, murder or suicide, you can bet your bottom dollar that our trusty Det. Sgt. Cooper will not rest until the case is thoroughly investigated.

With his 1950s Humphrey Bogart air of dogged persistence, our tribby-named, cigarette-smoking police detective is evidently a member of the "old school" — the type who "know their place" in society.

However, it appears that despite outward appearances, he is somewhat prone to a Machiavellian approach to life. He openly admits to Dr. Blakeney that his motive for solving Mathilda's death is twofold — involving a mix of pure professionalism with the hope that bringing the case to a successful conclusion will enable him to retire on a police inspector's pension. "You are an honest man," concurs Blakeney somewhat begrudgingly.

But, of course, what would a traditional English crime story be without a touch of black humor?

When Jack replies in the negative to Cooper's question about whether he sleeps with all the subjects of his paintings, the policeman relaxes visibly and says: "That's a relief, because I'd like you to paint me."

Meanwhile, even Dr. Blakeney is not above suspicion. The talk in the village, she is told by a patient, is that she killed Mathilda for her money — the doctor, it appears, stands to get a few pennies out of Mathilda's will. "Be careful," the patient warns her. But, who really dunnit?...

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## NEWS

of the muse

### Haifa celebrates three holidays in one

Since 1948, Haifa has maintained mostly amicable relations among its multiethnic, multiethnic population. This year, as during the previous four, the Arab/Jewish Center-Beit Hagefen is producing The Holiday of Holidays, from December 9 through January 20, over a month of cultural events celebrating Christmas, Hanukka and Ramadan.

The opening event, from December 9 to 11, is an interfaith convention to promote dialogue; participants are to include clergy from all around the Mediterranean basin. Also scheduled is an arts open house, with 100 local and regional artists presenting works on the theme of the home; it will take place in and around the homes and streets of Wadi Nisnas, where the events are centered. Some of the artists will participate in a cookery competition.

There will also be an antiques fair, a first for this region, jazz and a series of 14 concerts at area churches featuring music by Handel, Vivaldi and Pergolesi among others, performed by such as the National Choir from Prague and a quartet from London. Helen Kaye

### 'Sesame Street' wins in Japan

The Israeli/Palestinian *Sesame Street* TV series on ETV was awarded the President's Foundation Prize for educational television at the Japan Festival in Tokyo, which ended last week.

The series won for its "excellence in contributing to tolerance, mutual understanding and cultural exchanges between peoples and races."

The series, produced with funds from and in cooperation with CTW (Children's Television Workshop), stars both Israelis and Palestinians. Helen Kaye

### International prize for New Vocal Ensemble

The New Vocal Ensemble, under the music direction of Yuval Ben-Ozer, has just won first prize in an international choral competition in Malta. Of the 11 participating choirs, four reached the final round, in which the Israeli ensemble excelled, the jury said, in its choice of repertoire, ranging from Verdi and Saint-Saens to Israeli music, and in its high performance standards. Michael Ajzenstadt

### Choral competition for Netanya

Following the success of the Shirat Hayamim choral festival and competition held last month in Netanya, it was announced that the city will host a national choral competition in November 1999. The winners will participate in the first choral olympics, slated for Linz, Austria, in 2000. Michael Ajzenstadt

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## Syrian accountability

The painful cycle is all too familiar: the death of soldiers in Lebanon produces a spasm of public and political soul-searching. Once again, pundits and politicians go through the motions of wracking their brains over the question, "Is there a better way?" Generally, the dilemma is framed in terms of whether to withdraw from Lebanon or not. This question cannot be answered, however, without addressing whether Syria and Iran should be allowed to continue a proxy war against Israel without paying a price for it.

We are frequently told that the Hobson's choice presented by the Lebanese morass is: either soldiers die in the security zone, or civilians will die in Israel's North. Since it is the job of soldiers to take risks to protect civilians, this somber logic goes, Israel must stay put unless alternative means are found to secure the northern border.

Those favoring unilateral withdrawal argue that Israel can deter attacks against the North from its side of the international border as well as it can from the security zone. How this argument is resolved, however, depends greatly on who the enemy is deemed to be. If Israel limits its war to the Hizbullah itself, that war is clearly much more difficult to wage from this side of the border. If, however, Israel decides that the way to fight Hizbullah is to attack its Syrian-Iranian supply network within Lebanon, and impose sovereign responsibility upon Lebanon through attacks against infrastructure targets, the existence of the security zone may not be such a decisive military asset.

It is for this reason that the "doves" favoring unilateral withdrawal also tend to be "hawks" when it comes to taking the war to the Syrians or Lebanese. In this round of the debate, Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani is backing the concept of a unilateral withdrawal, and is calling for Israel to retaliate against Lebanon's infrastructure. The most prominent "hawk" in the government, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, is now leading the unilateral withdrawal camp within the cabinet. Though Sharon unveiled his proposal for a phased withdrawal in March, that was before he was named foreign minister. Sharon's increased prominence has ensured that the current "reevaluation" will be a real one, unlike previous exercises which ended quickly with little effect.

Even if the government does not decide upon any dramatic changes in policy, a serious reevaluation is overdue. The IDF, it seems, has

reached the limit of what it can achieve within the strategic constraints imposed upon it. The 1996 Grapes of Wrath understandings prevent the IDF from attacking Hizbullah safe havens within civilian areas. Nor has Israel been willing to risk escalating the war by attacking Hizbullah's Syrian-protected supply infrastructure.

The result has been stalemated: Hizbullah cannot accomplish its objectives, such as overrunning an IDF outpost, but neither can the IDF eliminate Hizbullah or the casualties caused by remote-controlled roadside bombs. The IDF, in short, cannot solve the problem on its own and needs the political echelon to reconsider its strategic options. In judging these options, a glaring anomaly must be confronted: Israel, a country famed for stopping at nothing to root out terrorists and retaliate against them, has been allowing Syria and Iran to attack its through surrogates without paying any price. Having allowed this situation to exist for years, it may be diplomatically problematic to reclaim the right of self-defense - but finally exercising that right should be the top item on the cabinet's agenda.

The idea of targeting Lebanon's infrastructure is perhaps an attractive interim alternative to taking on Syrian interests in Lebanon directly. As unfortunate as it would be to retard Lebanon's rebuilding process, Sharon is right that Lebanon must be held accountable for not exercising its sovereign responsibility to disarm Hizbullah. Such a strategy would also set up a rough parallelism: just as Syria is thought to be using Hizbullah to pressure Israel to leave the Golan, Israel would be using the Lebanese to convince Syria that the price of its proxy war is too high.

A strategy of making Syria pay a price, either directly or indirectly, for its proxy war against Israel would perhaps make a withdrawal from Lebanon more feasible. Holding Syria accountable may also become diplomatically easier if Israel has left the security zone, because any Syrian-backed attacks against Israel would lose some of their deniability and tacit international acceptance. But this strategy should be adopted for its own sake, not necessarily as an alternative to maintaining the security zone.

The alternative is for Israel to continue losing soldiers without imposing any cost on the primary sponsors of that bloodletting, a situation which no nation, let alone Israel, should tolerate.

## Tie Wye to Lebanon

YOSEF GOELL

There are no simple solutions to our situation in Lebanon. Perhaps there is no "solution" at all, in the sense that if Israel would only do or refrain from doing a particular something, the problem, which has claimed 22 of our soldiers this year, will simply disappear.

Despite the emergence of a "peace process" over the past few years, large parts of the Arab and Muslim worlds continue to view our very existence in their midst with murderous hatred. As a supporter of the need to negotiate with our Arab enemies in general, and to hammer out an acceptable territorial compromise with our Palestinian enemies in particular, I believe that the most dangerous downside of this process has been the determination of many of our leaders to sell it to us with the lie that permanent peace is just around the corner.

It is in our interest to exploit our Arab enemies' readiness to negotiate, to reduce the intensity of the conflict and our enemies' ability to wage war against us effectively. But to judge from the Egyptian precedent, no one has yet discovered the secret of how to compel or persuade the Arabs to make a true peace with us in exchange for reasonable Israeli concessions.

In the Lebanon case, the upshot of this is that the worst of all the alternative proposals being considered by the security inner cabinet is the one calling for unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the security zone in south Lebanon.

All Israeli governments have made it amply clear to Lebanon that if the Lebanese Army would take over security responsibility along the border with Israel the IDF would be withdrawn from the security zone. All these initiatives have been rebuffed.

It is a near certainty that a unilateral Israeli withdrawal, without Lebanese security guarantees, will serve to invite even more effective

Hizbullah attacks on Israeli civilian communities in the Galilee from the border itself. Hizbullah, and its Syrian and Iranian backers, have made this quite clear.

Even more daunting is the likelihood that a unilateral IDF withdrawal - which would mean admitting defeat at the hands of Hizbullah due to their successful impact on Israeli public opinion - would encourage Hamas in the territories to step up their terrorist attacks against us.

ANOTHER broad range of alternatives involves improving IDF tactics to fend off Hizbullah attacks and to reduce the number of our casualties. The fact is that much has already been done along these lines; the number of IDF casualties in the security zone this year has been significantly lower than it was last year, even though Hizbullah has been attacking more often.

But there is a problem with simply doing more of the same: The entire history of confrontations between well trained and highly motivated guerrilla groups and standing armies shows that defensive strategies that are not accompanied by ferocious and well-directed offensive efforts always fail.

But, we are told, striking back at Lebanon, or at Syria itself, would entail even greater risks, both of Kayushta rocket attacks on our civilian population centers in the North and of political restraints imposed by the US and Europe.

I do not feel qualified to assess the military advantages and risks of stepped-up Israeli retaliation for continued Hizbullah attacks, which are being carried out with the support of the Lebanese and Syrian governments. I am quite sure, however, that now is the time to successfully neutralize the international political drawbacks to such unavoidable Israeli retaliation.

We have every reason to hold the Wye Memorandum and our pending

## Dry Bones



further redeployments in the West Bank hostage to the imposition of quiet in southern Lebanon, which can only be done by the Lebanese and Syrian governments.

We must make it very clear to the US and France, which have significant influence with both those governments, that as much as we are committed to the Wye process we are not crazy enough to assume the additional security risks they entail at a time when the international community refuses to help us ensure security along our northern border.

I believe that our Western friends are at present so committed to Israel's going ahead with concessions to the Palestinians, that they can be persuaded not to endanger

the continuation of that process by leaning on Beirut and Damascus with regard to south Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the bereaved parents and families of our heroic soldiers who lost their lives because they were ready to put themselves at risk to defend the rest of us, have every right to expect heartfelt expressions of solidarity, and emotional and material support from the entire nation.

But as part of a people that has been marked by much sacrifice and bereavement over the past 50 years and more, they have no right to expect that their personal loss influence our military and political leaders' decisions on how best to defend the nation.

## In praise of uttering nonsense

URI DROMI

Now that the public clamor over Maj.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror's statements regarding peace songs has subsided, it is only proper that we consider the impact this incident may have on the willingness of high-ranking officers to freely speak their minds.

About four weeks ago, in what was supposed to be a closed session among colleagues, Amidror said that military entertainment troupes ought not sing certain very popular peace songs. His words were leaked to the press, sparking a vendetta against him that I am afraid will cause other officers to think twice before they dare to utter unpopular opinions - not only about songs, but about matters of life and death.

This trend can already be discerned, and it will have the most serious ramifications.

Take, for example, the painful, complex matter of Lebanon. A few months ago the Defense Ministry and the IDF held a long-anticipated discussion on the subject, hailed in the press as both serious and open. These talks came to the depressing conclusion that there should be no change in the current deployment of our forces in the security zone.

The question must be asked: In the course of these deliberations, was any alternative approach truly given a fair chance? Is it not the case that the supremacy of the official line may actually suppress critical, creative thinking which could lead us in different directions?

In the wake of the Amidror scandal, these questions become more relevant than ever.

Amidror was an intelligence officer during the Yom Kippur War. Following that debacle, he swore he would always state his opinions with

total disregard for potential personal consequences.

The lack of this type of forthrightness before the war was one reason it took such a toll. After the war, then chief of general staff David Elazar said that, to his astonishment, he had not been made aware of numerous intelligence reports that had warned of the impending attack.

He should not have been astonished: Those reports would have shattered the then-sacred dogma that since the Arabs were not prepared for war, they would not dare make such a move in 1973.

### The criticism of Amidror's comments on peace songs might cause other officers to think twice before speaking their minds

A system paralyzed by such a rigid way of thinking makes it almost impossible for dissenting points of view to be heard by the decision-makers. Those daring to utter opinions at variance with the official line are usually stigmatized as professional troublemakers; people whose dissenting views can be brushed off with a deriding wave of the hand or a single denigrating remark.

"Charlatans" was the term used by Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, the former OC Intelligence, for those who dared to whisper their dissenting views on Lebanon. No wonder that many officers with an eye on their careers prefer to lie low and keep their thoughts to themselves.

Last year's Mashal Affair, in which the Mossad decided to eliminate a Hamas leader in Amman in

brood daylight, is another case in point. As far as we know, no one in the chain of command raised so much as an eyebrow in dissent. Could it be that no one simply dared?

THERE is nothing exclusively Israeli in the lamentable tendency to give weight to those views that support the official line, while dismissing dissenting opinions.

US secretary of state Robert McNamara preferred to ignore the advice of a Washington-based expert on Vietnam who opposed the

native, independent assessments on matters relating to national security.

Concurrently, he should encourage army officers and other experts to state and develop new ideas that might help us extricate ourselves from the Lebanon quagmire.

Knowing our prime minister, however, this is probably a futile exercise in wishful thinking. He has already shown his distrust of people and ideas that do not agree with him.

When OC Planning Branch Maj.-Gen. Shlomo Yarni, heading an IDF team that met with senior Palestinians, came up with a draft agreement on security cooperation last year, Netanyahu dismissed it, only to come to a poorer agreement later, himself.

And how about the professional economists of the Finance Ministry, whom he sent back to their drawing boards when they dared bring him an estimate of economic growth that was grimmer (and closer to the truth) than his own?

With this quality of leadership, we need to defend our interests, somehow. If the boss doesn't want to hear dissenting views, then the public should make it clear that it does.

Therefore, the knee-jerk outcry against Amidror was dangerous, because it can discourage the free and unfettered discussion of major issues by those who surround our decision-makers, and whose views should be heard.

Officers must feel free to speak their minds, even if they utter nonsense every once in a while. It is much better than having them keep their mouths shut.

The writer is a reserve colonel in the IAF and a former director of the Government Press Office.

## The right reasons to impeach

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

The answer is so obvious only a Republican could miss it. Only the Republicans, who resuscitated a presidency so dead 10 weeks ago that presidential pal Robert Reich said, "Mr. Clinton has no presidency to defend," could fail to see the solution to their impeachment problem.

Here is their conundrum. Republicans say it's about perjury and obstruction of justice, felonies that cannot be ignored. Democrats say it's really just about sex, privacy unfairly spilled out into the public arena. And the country seems to support the Democrats' claim that the Republicans' concern for high constitutional principle is nothing but a facade for partisan sexual McCarthyism.

What to do? The way to get this behind us, say the wise men of all parties, is censure. But is it?

Censure is not just an affront to a Constitution (and 200 years of constitutional history) which gives the legislature but one means - impeachment - of passing judgment on the chief executive. It is, as a solution to this scandal, entirely disingenuous.

What, after all, would Congress be censuring the president for?

The answer to that was given September 3 by Sen. Joseph Lieberman in the only full-scale serious speech on this issue yet offered in either house of Congress.

Lieberman said that the president's conduct cannot go unrebuked. And what conduct was he referring to? The sex.

"The president apparently had extramarital relations with an employee half his age and did so in the workplace in the vicinity of the Oval Office. Such behavior is not just inappropriate. It is immoral. ... It is wrong and unacceptable and should be followed by some measure of public rebuke and accountability."

How? He suggested "a resolution of reprimand or censure of the president for his misconduct."

The speech was received with universal approbation, then enthusiastically seconded by leading Democratic Sens. Bob Kerrey and Pat Moynihan.

A leading Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, William Delahunt, has given Lieberman's idea flesh. He is introducing a censure motion described by his chief of staff as "a single declarative sentence: 'We, the Congress, disapprove of the president's miserable behavior, period.'"

Note the sleight of hand that has occurred since the Lieberman speech: While the Democrats now claim that the Republicans are sex-obsessed witch hunters prying pri-

ently into the president's private affairs, the censure Democrats are proposing addresses itself precisely to ... sex.

WELL, if sex is none of our business, why should Congress take the extraordinary step of censuring it?

Indeed, sex is none of our business. And while, as a curiosity and sensation, it may become public - as Hugh Grant's little sexual imbroglio became public - it is certainly not the business of the US Congress.

Having endlessly deplored the importation of "family values" into national politics - I've proposed prison sentences for politicians who parade spouse and kids on camera - I believe the obvious too: The absence of "family values" is not a relevant subject for public discourse, either.

For congressional Republicans, moreover, censure is not just the constitutionally wrong answer. It is the politically wrong answer. It does nothing but give the Democrats and the president a soft landing.

The solution for the Republicans is at hand if they could only see it: The House should rule out any motion of censure on the grounds that it is both extraconstitutional and misdirected. Congress is interested neither in

presidential sex nor in censuring presidential sex. Congress is interested only in public acts.

The House Judiciary Committee should therefore present the House with two simple articles of impeachment. No elaborate preambles, no fancy clauses, simply this:

(1) Whereas President William Jefferson Clinton deliberately and repeatedly lied under oath before a federal criminal grand jury ...

(2) Whereas President William Jefferson Clinton deliberately and repeatedly lied under oath, obstructed justice and tampered with witnesses in a civil case before the US District Court of the Eastern District of Arkansas ...

No sex. No Monica. No prurience. Nothing but perjury and obstruction. Republicans are running scared on impeachment for fear of the stain it will leave on them. This is the perfect opportunity for the turning of the tables on their opponents. Let these be the articles and let the Democrats vote against them, as they surely will.

Up or down, yes or no, nothing less. Let the Republicans have it on record that they considered perjury and obstruction of justice grave offenses against the state. And let Barney Frank and friends have it forever on record that they did not.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### REMEMBERING OUR ROOTS

Sir, - I could not disagree more with Helen Schary Motro's oped article "Cold Turkey" (November 26). I think it is important to remember where we came from, even though we have now left it physically behind.

She is mistaken that in Australia we "wore poppies to honor veterans on ANZAC Day, but once in Israel ... ceased to notice." In fact, each ANZAC Day (April 25), the Australian Embassy hosts an ecumenical memorial service at the War Graves site on Mount Scopus, usually followed by a reception.

For me, it is an opportunity to

pay tribute to the valor of the veterans to whom my birthplace owes so much, and also to honor the memory of my brother who fell in World War II, serving in the Royal Australian Air Force and shot down over Rommel's lines in Tobruk.

We are all proud Israelis now, but we should be loyal to our roots, especially if we come from countries that are democratic, honorable and offered a safe haven and a good life to our forebears.

Jerusalem.

DVORA WAYSMAN

### STUFF IT!

Sir, - Helen Schary Motro's comments regarding celebrating Thanksgiving here in Israel really were a "turkey."

We and our three children, their spouses and our seven grandchildren partook of our traditional feast of Thanksgiving to help celebrate our all being together, alive and well and living in Jerusalem. Yes, Helen, this is "sacred" - to give thanks for the good things we share. And why not, especially in this Jewish city in this Jewish country, shouldn't we all, like the Pilgrims, celebrate our religious and cultural freedom.

But, we are not "straddling any fences," just simply being together, eating turkey, sweet potatoes, cran-

berry sauce or whatever else we feel like preparing for this enjoyable family meal, even though the Israeli-born grandchildren find "yucky" our love of things like bread stuffing and are amazed that pumpkin pie is actually a dessert. You would never suggest that the folks who celebrate "Mimouna," "Saharone" or other "festive Old Country culinary customs" do the usual weekend shopping and order pizza (a native dish?) instead.

I suggest that Motro, instead of going "cold turkey," find herself a nice plump bird and stuff it!

Jerusalem.

ESTHER H. LURIA

### DAGESH CLARIFICATION

Sir, - Regarding "New Dagesh to be launched in '99" (November 20) and the recent \$500,000 deal between Jewish software distributor TES, Inc. of New York and Har Hovim-based Gaftech Software to roll out a new version of the legendary Hebrew/English/Multilingual word processor Dagesh, I would like to make a clarification.

Accent will be maintaining offices in Jerusalem offering world-wide translation services. In addition, Accent was only partially bought out (24%) by a Belgian-based software house. It is also noteworthy that as a part of this deal, Accent will be collecting royalties on every copy of Dagesh sold by TES.

EMMANUEL FISHMAN  
Torah Educational Software Inc.  
New York.

### NEIGHBORHOOD MINORITIES

Sir, - In her letter "Christians in Mea She'arim" (November 27), Naomi Schendowich states that a Christian minority should not expect to feel comfortable in a predominantly haredi area, and that they should move on.

Does she apply this notion to the Jewish minority in Hebron and their relationship with their overwhelmingly Arab neighbors?

Netanya.

PETER KINGSTON

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On November 30, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported from Warsaw the formation of a League, organized by Revisionist Zionists and supported by a number of Polish journalists demanding that the Palestine Mandate should be given to Poland, to assist the Jewish emigration from there. The idea was refused official

authorization.

50 years ago: On November 30, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that Israel formally requested to become the 59th member of the UN.

25 years ago: On November 30, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that there was a mount-

ing toll of Egyptian cease-fire violations, an Israeli soldier was killed and two were wounded.

The Soviet Chief Leonid Brezhnev warned that unless Israel and the Arabs reached an early peace settlement, a new and even more dangerous explosion might occur at any moment.

Alexander Zvielti

صدا من الاصل



## Out of Time

# Dictators (And Some Lawyers) Tremble

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

**W**HEN the Congo's President, Laurent Kabila, got ready for a trip to Europe last week, he sent an advance party to Belgium, his first stop, to seek assurances that there would be no nasty surprises waiting — an arrest warrant, for example. Mr. Kabila, who seized power in a long march to Kinshasa in 1997 and who has resisted all international efforts to investigate how many lives may have been lost in massacres along the way, is now living in the post-Pinochet era.

"Tremble, tyrants!" was the editorial message the Paris newspaper *Liberation* sent to a list of dictators after a panel from Britain's House of Lords, the country's highest legal authority, ruled on Wednesday that Augusto Pinochet, the former Chilean strongman, was not entitled to immunity from arrest under a British law protecting former heads of state. General Pinochet, 83, was in Britain for back surgery when a Spanish judge asked for his arrest on charges of mass murder and terrorism. A democratic Chilean Government, which argues that it has put the Pinochet years behind it, is appealing. Britain's Home Secretary, Jack Straw, has until Dec. 11 to decide whether to turn the general over.

But however the case is finally resolved, the arrest of General Pinochet and the Lords' ruling upholding it may have opened a new era in the practice of international human rights law. "It is a decision without precedent," said *El Mundo*, a Spanish newspaper. "The basis is beginning to be set for what can and should be justice without borders."

The decision falls into what had been almost a legal vacuum, making it all the more interesting to human rights specialists. International norms have been laid down broadly in human rights conventions, but there have been no universally agreed definitions and procedures. In the case of Pol Pot, for example, there is no unanimity that he could have been prosecuted for genocide, though there is wide agreement that a charge of crimes against humanity would stand up.

What is important in the Pinochet precedent, said José Miguel Vivanco, director of the Americas division of Human Rights Watch, is that a high court has ruled that crimes like extrajudicial executions and torture "do not qualify as legitimate acts of a head of state," and therefore did not qualify for the immunity extended to foreign government leaders in Britain. Mr. Vivanco said that whether General Pinochet is ultimately extradited or not, this case has established a principle.

Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, hailed the ruling as one to

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Augusto Pinochet



Investors weren't fazed by last week's \$206 billion settlement by cigarette makers. In a Kentucky warehouse, bales of tobacco were graded.

## Smokescreen

# The Ifs and Buts of the Tobacco Settlement

By SYLVIA NASAR

**L**AST week's \$206 billion settlement between the tobacco industry and 46 states is supposed to put Big Tobacco on the run. The agreement requires cigarette makers to compensate states for the medical costs of treating smoking-related diseases. It's been hailed as a triumph of the public interest over special interests. But a closer look at the hard economics behind the agreement reveals something quite different.

The problem, economists and legal experts who have studied the deal say, isn't that the damages won by the states are too small, as leaders of the anti-smoking lobby complain.

It's that 99 percent of the total settlement is really a disguised tax hike.

Taxing cigarettes more heavily may or may not be a good idea, the critics say, but labeling as "damages" what is effectively a sales tax is misleading and will create a boondoggle for trial lawyers and a windfall for the smaller tobacco companies.

Under the deal, the Big Four tobacco producers will wind up paying direct damages of at most 1 percent of the settlement total, or \$2.4 billion. That amount, calculated as a proportion of the companies' current market value, is to be paid regardless of how many packs of cigarettes they sell in the future.

The rest of the \$206 billion will be paid by smokers: Cigarette prices are expected to climb by an average of about 35 cents a pack.

"Reasonable people can disagree whether increasing the cigarette tax is a good or bad idea," said Jeremy Bulow, the incoming chief economist of the Fed-

eral Trade Commission. "But the reason that the attorneys general don't want to call it a tax is so they can claim a political victory."

Clearly investors thought the deal was worth celebrating.

On Nov. 20, the day the attorneys general announced the settlement, the stock of the leading tobacco companies soared. Investors chose to disbelieve that an industry with profits of \$5 billion a year would be paying \$8 billion a year in damages for the next 25 years. Instead, the investors gave credence to stock analysts who believe that the profits of tobacco companies will decline by a maximum of 10 percent. And cigarette producers wasted no time in raising prices — a day after the settlement was signed on Monday, two major companies raised prices 45 cents a pack.

The higher prices represent what is essentially an old-fashioned sales tax, the very kind of tax that the Republican Congress shot down a few months back as "big government."

What makes it a tax? The fact that the amount paid is to rise and fall with the number of cigarette packs sold.

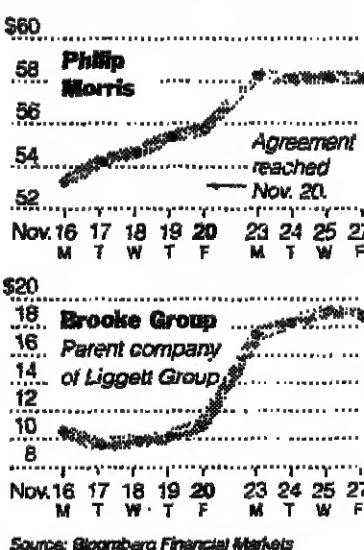
Like many sales taxes, it is borne primarily by the consumer. "Every single cigarette tax ever passed has been paid fully by the consumer," said John Gruber, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a former Deputy Treasury Secretary. "There's no reason to think this will be any different."

"If it looks like a duck, quacks like a duck..." Mr. Gruber added. "It's a tax because it's a set of payments made by tobacco companies that depend on how many packs they sell."

Still, most economists think it makes sense to use taxes to have the price of cigarettes reflect their true social cost,

## Feeling No Pain

Judging from the stock price of these two companies, investors do not think tobacco profits are likely to decline substantially as a result of the industry's \$206 billion settlement with 46 states.



Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets

The New York Times

though some, like Mr. Bulow, have reservations because the taxes fall heavily on the poor. And as tobacco companies have known for years, the evidence is compelling that raising prices leads some smokers to cut back and deters teen-agers from picking up the habit.

But by disguising a de facto sales tax as damages, the critics maintain, the states have agreed to a deal with unintended consequences that are just hint-

ed at in the joint news release describing the 100-page settlement. By calling taxes damages, the critics say, the states wound up agreeing to provisions that Congress would never dream of if it passed a tax increase.

For example, economists cite the huge contingency fees that the 200 or so trial lawyers who helped produce the agreement will collect. Under the deal, the lawyers will divide \$1.25 billion initially and about \$500 million a year thereafter. That's an \$8 billion payout, or 20 times the biggest contingency fee ever paid, the \$400 million collected by a lawyer in the 1985 Texaco-Pennzoil case.

Mr. Gruber calls the legal fees "huge, gross and disgusting." Mr. Bulow estimates that had the fees been calculated only on the basis of actual damages, each lawyer would receive an average of about \$1 million apiece, versus the \$40 million apiece that the lawyers will actually collect.

"By calling the settlement 'damages' it makes it seem reasonable to pay the lawyers a lot," said Paul Klempner, an economist at Oxford University. "If you called it taxes, you wouldn't expect to give lawyers a fraction of the tax."

The lawyers maintain they are being paid fairly for taking a huge gamble. But for one thing, some states hadn't even got around to filing suits against the tobacco companies, so the lawyers in those states haven't done much of anything yet. And those lawyers who have put in time did most of their work in the past year — after it became clear that a broad settlement was a near-certain bet.

A second consequence of calling taxes damages is that the deal, far from in-

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## Flying High

New airport lifts  
Palestinians' hope  
for statehood.

By William A. Orme, Jr.

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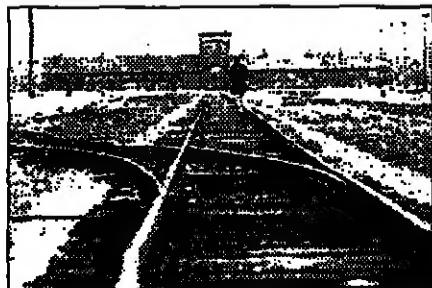


## Social Security

Both parties agree  
that change is  
needed. Now what?

By Richard W. Stevenson

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## Burden of Proof

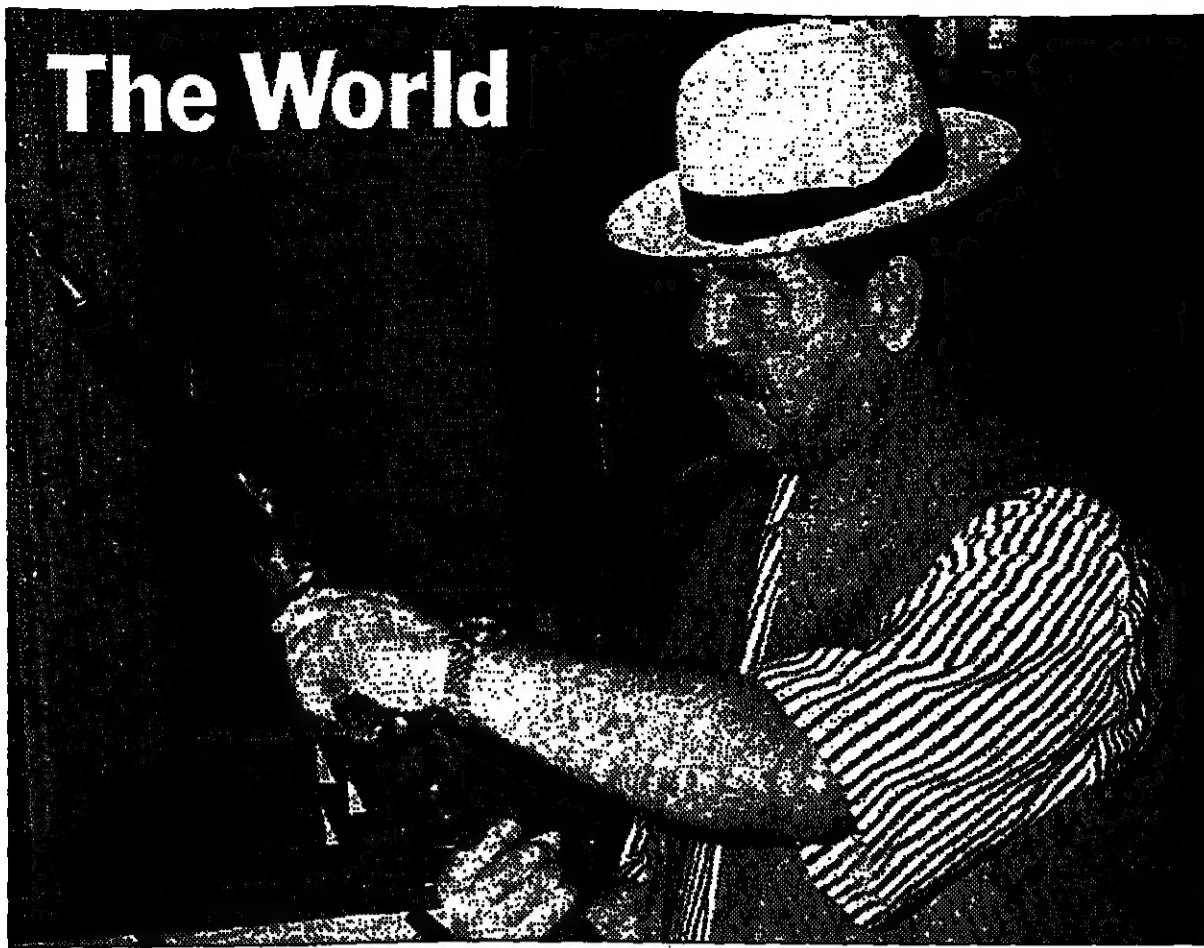
Rethinking the  
unthinkable about  
Germany's past.

By Roger Cohen

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## The World



Saddam Hussein was given a machine gun last month to mark the vote affirming his rule.

## Suddenly, Hussein Feels Alone in the Arab World

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

IN the uneasy calm that has followed President Clinton's decision to call off the bombing of Iraq, diplomats watching for Saddam Hussein's next move sense something profoundly different in the Iraqi air. While clues do not add up to conclusions, some Arab and Western experts have seen signs that President Hussein is more isolated in his own region than at any time since his 1990 invasion of Kuwait, which drove fellow Arab nations into backing the American-led coalition in the subsequent Persian Gulf war.

The chilling of Arab relations with Iraq has diverse causes. Contributing to the trend is the finally tangible (however slow) progress in peace agreements between Israel and the Palestinians. President Clinton's forceful and sustained role in the Wye Plantation talks was widely noticed in Arab nations, a Mideast envoy said. Relatively small events, like the opening last week of the Palestinians' first international airport at Gaza, are "a tremendous psychological boost" to better feelings about the United States, the diplomat added.

Arab diplomats say that Iraq appears to be convinced that Syria, an old rival, has been lured by Washington into believing that its concerns about Israel and its demand for a return of the Golan Heights could be dealt with next. The subtext in the message is that Syria would do well to distance itself from Baghdad. Similarly, recent American efforts to feel out Iran, however tentative and cautious they have been, can be interpreted by Iraqis as cover for the Iraqis should they choose to make trouble for Iraq.

Even the collapse of world oil prices to the lowest level in a decade plays a part in distancing the Arabs and Iraqis from Iraq, since other oil producers in the region are not eager to see Iraq free to export petroleum at this point — a principal Iraqi aim in seeking a relaxation of United Nations sanctions. Iraq produced 3.14 million barrels a day in 1990 under an OPEC quota. Now, although under strict United Nations regulation, Iraq has already averaged 2.4 million barrels a day over the last four months, and exports about 1.8 million barrels of it, an Iraqi oil ministry official said last week.

But exasperation with Mr. Hussein's defiance of the United Nations, fears that he will bring destabilizing destruction down on the region by sooner or later provoking an American attack, and concern for the fate of the Iraqi people appear to be turning Arab opinion against him. His willingness to push Iraqis into the range of American missiles and bombers has also disturbed some United Nations officials.

"The Arab people are able to separate their sympathy for Iraqis from their attitudes toward Saddam," an Arab envoy said.

Some diplomats wager that the Clinton Administration may have sensed this mounting disenchantment with Iraq and made it a calculation in two decisions two weeks ago. The first was the decision not to alienate Arabs anew by killing Iraqis after Mr. Hussein appeared ready to capitulate and allow international inspectors to work. The second was Mr. Clinton's public call to the Iraqi opposition to overthrow Mr. Hussein.

Having to watch his back, is the Iraqi President now more vulnerable at home? Western diplomats and

officials who would like to believe that he is say that, nevertheless, they have no strong new evidence that he is in danger. Still, there is known to be some dissent within the Iraqi army. "Soldiers have families too and they see what this man is doing to people," an exile who was afraid to give his name said last week.

The question of how secure Mr. Hussein is arose in new force last week when his second-in-command, Izzat Ibrahim, escaped assassination in the southern Shiite city of Karbala. In the days that followed, Iraqi newspapers hinted that Iran, with its Shiite leadership and a centuries-long enmity with Sunni-led Iraq, might have been behind the grenade throwers who tried to kill Mr. Ibrahim, the President's deputy on the Revolutionary Command Council. Iraq had been trying to build better relations and more commercial ties with Iran, as it has been doing with Arab nations. The success of those ventures appears to be mixed.

FOR several days last week, Iraqi leaders and the controlled Iraqi media were pleading openly with the Arab world not to abandon Iraq "and damage the Arab nation." The call came, diplomats said, as the importance of an Arab warning to Mr. Hussein several weeks ago began to sink in. On Nov. 12, two days before Iraq withdrew its ban on arms inspections, eight Arab nations — Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria among them — said in a public statement that resounded around the Middle East that if the Americans struck, Mr. Hussein would bear the responsibility for exposing the Iraqi people to new levels of misery.

"The Arabs have a strange relationship with Iraq," a Middle Eastern diplomat said. In 1990, after the invasion of Kuwait, a summit meeting of Arab leaders in effect gave the go-ahead to the American-led coalition to wage war on Iraq. But Arab nations, most of which have authoritarian governments that are wary of coups and revolutionary movements, have always stopped short (at least publicly) of advocating the overthrow of Mr. Hussein. The idea of a Western nation, the United States or Britain, ousting an Arab leader is inflammatory in itself, and stirs up too much history.

Last week, however, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was not afraid to talk about a change of regime in Iraq as long as it came from within and not from British and American intelligence agencies. "Let's be realistic," Mr. Mubarak said in an interview with the French newspaper *Le Figaro*. "These projects won't get anywhere. Anyone who knows Iraq knows that no action will succeed if it isn't led from the interior, by people living in Iraq."

A European diplomat said that the world was probably still far from seeing any organized resistance emerge in Iraq to topple Mr. Hussein, at least not in a decisive way. More likely, some Western experts fear, would be a messy collapse into brutality — "like the end of Ceausescu in Romania," a diplomat said.

Moreover, there is no orderly succession evident. Mr. Hussein has allowed no other Iraqi to build a political base. His two sons, Uday and Qusay, are by wide agreement despised. Abbas Mehdi, an exile who is active in democratic Iraqi dissident movements in the United States, said that if Mr. Hussein were to die today, naturally or violently, "Within 30 minutes his sons would be chopped into 10,000 pieces."

By WILLIAM A. ORME Jr.

JERUSALEM  
WHEN their gleaming new international airport opened in the Gaza Strip last week, Palestinians saw it as one more step toward the national statehood their leaders have been promising.

But the opening tomorrow morning in Washington of an American-sponsored gathering of international aid donors to the Palestinians is a reminder of how far they have to go before assuming real control over their affairs — and of the peculiar challenges of running a non-state state that hovers limbo-like between dependence and independence.

The Palestinian National Authority, midwifed into existence five years ago by the Oslo peace negotiations, has effective internal jurisdiction over an expanding territory. It polices streets, patrols borders, runs schools and hospitals, manages ministries of trade and finance and foreign affairs. But it isn't in charge of its own destiny — or finances.

The very fact of a "donor's conference" hosted by a foreign government highlights the limits of the Authority's authority. A poor country in need of aid would directly petition multilateral lenders and friendly governments, as hurricane-ravaged Honduras is now doing. But the Palestinian National Authority has no independent standing in the multilateral agencies, and no formal diplomatic relations with major Western aid donors. And it has few immediate prospects of commercial funding.

Convened by the Clinton Administration, Monday's meeting is intended to secure firm pledges of multi-billion-dollar support for the Palestinian National Authority over the next three to five years. After Oslo, it was assumed that by 1999 the Palestinians would achieve something close to full sovereignty, and foreign assistance promised in late 1993 for an envisioned five-year transition is now running out.

But now, under pressure from the

Beyond the Gaza Airport

## Running the Economy Without a Country

United States, Palestinian leaders have backed away from their long-announced intention to proclaim statehood next May. And Israeli negotiators are talking about postponing any final Palestinian declaration of independence for several years more, as discussions continue on security issues, the repatriation of refugees, and the heatedly disputed "final status" of Jerusalem.

The status of the Palestinian National Authority, meanwhile, remains unchanged. Still subsumed economically within the state of Israel, it cannot print money, impose import duties, draw down loans from the International Monetary Fund, or float notes in the sovereign bond markets.

There are of course some advantages to international financial virgility. There is no vulnerable local currency for London traders to attack, no massive foreign debt to service, no IMF budget overlord to placate. But this is the Middle East, the birthplace of the double-edged sword. And it is the era of trade, not aid, when the engines of world capitalism are expected to drive progress.

Unusually in the developing world, the Palestinians have no legacy of binge borrowing or debt defaults. This may sound like an unalloyed blessing, but that is not how things work in global financial markets.

IN virtually every tiny third-world capital there is a cluster of Western bankers doggedly seeking some sliver of profit, some credible investment opportunity, no matter how checkered the local financial history. But you don't find dealmakers from Morgan Guaranty hanging around the juice bars of Gaza City, or Ramallah. The Palestinian National Authority is not unlike a steadily employed, bill-paying consumer who has carefully avoided mortgages and Visa cards but suddenly needs a loan. To a banker, this is a non-person. Even for an incipient nation-state, having no credit history is worse than having a bad credit history. Making matters harder still, the Palestin-

ians have no dollar reserves or other sovereign assets to act as collateral.

So for the moment the Palestinians have little choice but to go to Washington, kaffiyeh in hand, and hope for more aid. In the Monday conference the Clinton Administration is expected to increase American funding, perhaps doubling it to some \$150 million yearly; the European Union nations — by far the biggest donors — have pledged a new multi-year package of \$4 billion.

But even giving money away gets complicated when the recipient is not yet a government.

The European Investment Bank promised \$300 million to the Palestinians five years ago, but has delivered not a penny, as it tries to find a way around its own requirements for repayment assurances from a sovereign borrower. The United States' Overseas Private Investment Corporation pledged \$125 million in credit guarantees to American business ventures in Gaza and the West Bank, but has provided a scant \$6 million, in good part because there is no history of American corporate investment under a Palestinian regime.

Atypically of third world aid programs, most funding for Palestinian programs bypasses local authorities entirely and goes to projects managed by the donors themselves. The United Nations alone has 26 different agencies dispensing aid and running programs.

Though the Palestinians welcome the aid, they find its distribution suffocatingly paternalistic.

The quest for Palestinian self-determination is often portrayed as an issue of national pride, of rewards that are more psychic and symbolic than hard-headed practical. But for Anis al-Qaq, the Palestinian National Authority deputy minister who oversees foreign assistance receipts, achieving something closer to national status is above all a managerial imperative.

"The United States and others should look at the Palestinian Authority as a state," he said, "so that they can leave us to cope with our deficits and our financial planning by ourselves."



Palestinians took time out for midday prayers as service was inaugurated at the Gaza International Airport.

## A London Ruling Sets Dictators (and Lawyers) Trembling

Continued from Page 9

"hearten human rights defenders around the world." No longer can generals and other authoritarians who, having spent years persecuting real and imagined enemies, fly off with complete assurance of immunity to Europe or the United States for shopping or medical treatment. A medical emergency was the reason given for allowing Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to enter the United States after he was overthrown in Iran.

Retirement abroad, even when part of a political settlement that rids a country of a dictator, may become more problematical for those driven out of their pillaged countries. Among retired dictators now living remarkably well somewhere else are Idi Amin of Uganda (in Saudi Arabia) and Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier of Haiti (in France). Last week a right-wing French politician, criticizing the Pinochet decision, said that half the heads of state heading for a French-African summit in Paris this weekend "could end up in handcuffs."

There are some sleeper cases waiting to be heard. What if people in East Timor, whose independence drive has been brutally repressed by Indonesia, try to nail President Suharto next time he travels abroad — if the Indonesians ever let their ousted dictator travel. And Sikhs in Britain, Canada and the United States have been waiting for the chance to hold India's Congress Party leaders responsible for the massacres of several thousand Sikhs in New Delhi and other cities in a few days following the 1984 assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by Sikh bodyguards. More people died in that pogrom, Sikh leaders have been saying, than all

those killed in Chile in 17 years under General Pinochet. For human rights groups, there is special meaning in the timing of the Pinochet rulings. This year the world celebrates the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which Eleanor Roosevelt, among other Americans, was instrumental in pushing through the United Nations as the cold war loomed.

IN general, this has been a remarkable year for human rights, despite setbacks in Congo, Kosovo, Algeria and other troubled areas. International tribunals for the Balkans and Rwanda have been handing down sentences, including the first convictions for rape as a war crime. In June, a treaty established the first International Criminal Court, a permanent body on call to deal with rogue leaders in a systematic way so that a mastermind of death like the late Pol Pot would not pose a jurisdictional problem if caught.

Still, efforts to subordinate national sovereignty to internationalist notions of universal crimes are especially tricky for the United States.

Along with half a dozen other nations including Iraq and Libya, the Americans voted against setting up the new court. The Clinton Administration, especially the Pentagon, feared that there were not enough safeguards to prevent American soldiers from being brought to trial for acts committed in the line of duty abroad. A Republican-led Congress would go farther, saying that no American should even be subject to international legal proceedings. Suppose Cambodians decided to indict Henry Kissinger on charges of ordering the bombing of their

country during the Vietnam War? Chances are the United States would be quick to take a line of defense not unlike Chile's, saying that history has rendered its judgment on that war, people on the whole do not get tried for policies and American courts have dealt with those individuals who had committed offenses.

American leaders have long been skittish about international courts and covenants, and apprehensive that foreign political agendas would run wild in international forums. The United States routinely refuses to recognize decisions of the International Court of Justice, which was set up to adjudicate among nations, not to try individuals. That tribunal, known as the World Court, has been used. Government officials say, to score policy points such as opposition to an American embargo on Nicaragua during the Sandinista years, or in favor of the outlawing of nuclear weapons.

Strong campaigns in the third world against international corporations, big banks and other symbols of Western-style capitalism have already led to mock trials. Countries shaky on due process have been minefields for years.

In international human rights bodies, including the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the General Assembly when it sits as a human rights committee, the United States has been regularly attacked by developing nations determined to prove Americans no better than other nations in rights protection. American officials call it a policy of moral equivalency employed to deflect attention from abuses or constraints on human liberty in countries as diverse as Cuba, Kenya or Malaysia. In recent years, the Clinton

Administration has welcomed international human rights investigators, hoping that openness will dispel some criticism and demonstrate a willingness to deal with problems that arise in law enforcement and the judicial system.

THE gesture has sometimes backfired, however, as human rights monitors — often using American newspaper clippings — portray admitted shortcomings as gross violations of international human right covenants, often phrasing the accusations in the language of the covenants. A series of United Nations monitors and Amnesty International, based in London, have issued tough reports on the United States in the last year or two. Amnesty, using the code words for major offenders, found "a persistent and widespread pattern of violations." Across the country, its report concluded, "thousands of people are subjected to sustained and deliberate brutality" by police forces and the Federal Government has to take responsibility.

If Americans fear an indictment one day of an American President in a foreign court, such fears are misplaced, said Mr. Vivanco of Human Rights Watch, who noted how silent the Clinton Administration was when the Pinochet verdict was delivered on Wednesday. Such exceptional cases, Mr. Vivanco said, are reserved for perpetrators of war crimes or crimes against humanity who have not been judged by their own courts. In those cases there is no normal redress, as Spanish lawyers argued. "At the domestic level, there was no chance whatsoever to punish him," Mr. Vivanco said.

سكنا من الامم المتحدة



## The World

## Germany Searches For 'Normality'

By ROGER COHEN

**G**ERMANY is whole and free. The Allied and Russian troops have long since left Berlin. Next year, with Poland's entry into NATO, the country will be surrounded by allies for the first time in its modern history, and the German parliament will return to the Reichstag. A cycle has been completed, it would seem, a chapter closed, 53 years after the fall of Hitler's Reich.

And yet Germany is anything but tranquil at the dawn of what Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's rule. In recent weeks, a former President, leading writers and prominent Jews have been drawn into a fierce debate about the place of memory and the shame, if

## More people are questioning the role of memory and shame.

any, that young Germans should feel for the crimes of their forebears.

Germany has broached such issues before, but in its scope, openness and vitriol, the discussion appears to be without precedent. Behind it lies a growing exasperation at what is seen by some as a commercial exploitation of the Holocaust. Also apparent are a thirst for normality in a society that has repeatedly tried to confront Auschwitz and anxiety over freedom of speech in what is an established democracy.

"Perhaps, in the long run, it is good that a debate has been engendered, however painful," said Fritz Stern, a history professor at Columbia University. "For always, beneath the surface, there has been the wish to be normal in Germany, the wish not to be reminded all the time."

The controversy began last month when Martin Walser, a prominent writer, used an acceptance speech for Germany's top literary award to say something that he said made him "tremble" at his audacity:

Auschwitz should not become a "routine threat, a tool of intimidation, a moral cudgel or just a compulsory exercise." Nor, he added, should German shame be "exploited for present purposes."

Response was overwhelming and electric because the challenge came not from the rightist fringe but from a man of the intellectual and moral center.

"Mental arson," declared Ignatz Bubis, the leader of Germany's small but growing Jewish community, who accused Mr. Walser of encouraging neo-Nazi groups, stimulating a new intellectual nationalism and betraying the memory of Auschwitz.

Rushing to Mr. Walser's defense, the writer Monika Maron said that he had not gone far enough. "I, for my part, neither think nor feel that young Germans must carry the shame of their nation," she wrote in the newspaper *Die Zeit*. "For me, young Germans are as little incriminated as young Danes or young French."

She wondered how "we can convince other countries of our normality if we ourselves deny that claim?"

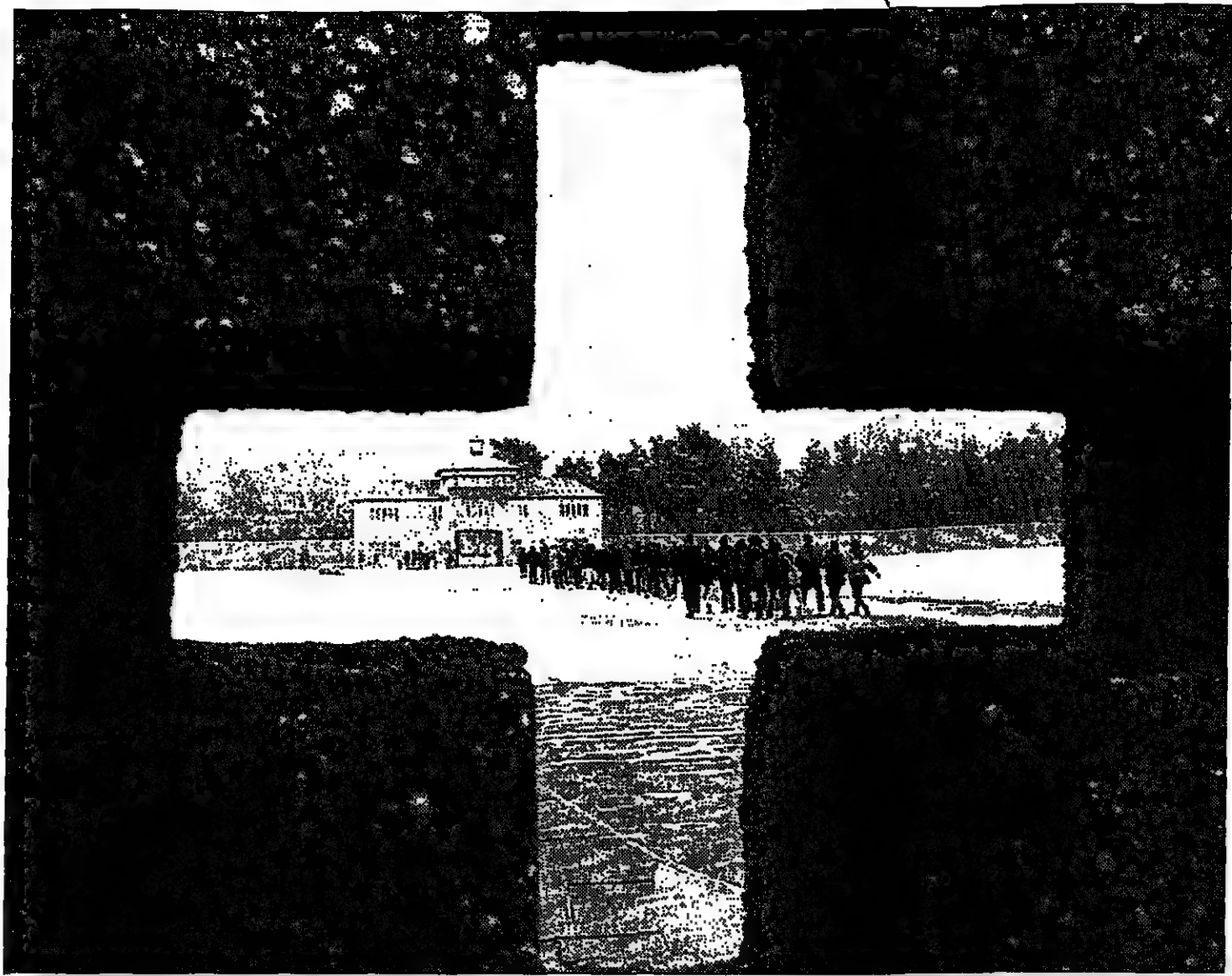
Ms. Maron ended with a troubling confession: "Now that I defend Walser, I am also trembling a little bit. Why? Where do I live that I am afraid even to say what I think?"

Ever since 1945, Germany has been a country where the voicing of nationalism, or even strongly patriotic sentiment has been suspect, and freedom of expression in mainstream debate has not extended to questioning "the exploitation" of the Holocaust. Perhaps Germany is only now lifting the last taboos bequeathed by Hitler and going through the final throes of its confrontation with Hitler's Reich.

After the death camps, after the destruction of European Jewry, Germany has more recently been dealing with the issues of slave labor at many of its corporations and the cooperation of many banks and insurance companies with the Nazis.

"The taboos have all been lifted at last, and the complicity of most sectors of German society revealed," said Arno J. Mayer, a historian at Princeton University. "But once you do that, of course, you want to move forward, get beyond it all."

Yet, at the very moment when this desire to move on has apparently crystallized, the Holocaust has become more omnipresent than ever, brought to the public by the



Seen through an opening in a stone wall, students visit the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on a national day of remembrance.

movie "Schindler's List," popularized in American television series, argued over in claims against Swiss banks and used as a regular ingredient of New York politics.

The Germans' growing belief that American popular culture has turned the Holocaust into the sole event of World War II and their sharpened desire to put a terrible century behind them seem to lie at the heart of the current furor.

Mr. Walser was careful not to say who was doing the exploiting. But in another long defense of him, Klaus von Dohnanyi, a former Mayor of Hamburg and a man whose own father was killed by the Nazis because of his acts of resistance, was explicit.

He singled out Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, who helped force the Swiss to settle Jewish claims, as an example of the "political instrumentalization" of the Holocaust, complained of a "Holocaust industry" and suggested that visitors to concentration camps today increasingly seemed driven by

idle curiosity. "Remembrance must not become comfortable routine," Mr. von Dohnanyi said. "This is the danger Walser came out against."

Mr. von Dohnanyi also compared his own situation with that of Mr. Bubis, the Jewish leader. Both men had members of their family killed by the Nazis. Both bore no responsibility for these crimes. Yet, there the similarities ended. While Mr. Bubis was naturally, and rightfully, exonerated, Mr. von Dohnanyi felt compelled to accept the "historic guilt" of the Germans.

**T**HIS was naturally a difficult role, and Mr. von Dohnanyi said Mr. Walser's speech should be seen as the "complaint of a personally innocent German, who feels caught in the disgrace of crimes of preceding generations which he did not commit, but for which he nevertheless has to feel responsible. It was

the understandable, even necessary complaint of a conscientious non-Jewish German about the difficult fate of being such a German today."

But when, if ever, will that fate become a lighter one? Perhaps the very fact of so open a debate suggests a society that is opening up and outgrowing its fears.

The resentments alluded to by Mr. Walser are widespread — he has received enormous support — and could grow sharper if the new Government or the European Union fail to offer Germans the more unburdened identity they clearly crave.

One man clearly worried is Richard von Weizsäcker, the former President. Writing in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* last week, he accused Mr. Walser of "cutting provocation," warning that "it must not go on like this."

The voice was authoritative but with a ring of the past. Germany seems to want to talk about its demons, once and for all.

## Terrible Reputations

## A Kurd's Arrest Slows Turkey's Path to Europe

By STEPHEN KINZER

**T**HE Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk remembers that when he was growing up in the 1950's and 60's, there was one sure way to end any argument about how to do something: "You just had to say 'This is how they do it in Europe' and that was final. If things were done a certain way in Europe, then by definition that was the right way to do it."

For generations, even for centuries, Turks have debated how to relate to Europe and, by extension, the Western world. It was fundamental for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who founded the Turkish Republic in 1923, that Turkey was a European nation and should strive to be ever more so. But the marriage of Turkish and European values has not proven easy to consummate, and in recent weeks it has been set back again, this time by a dispute over the fugitive Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Öcalan.

Most Turks consider Mr. Öcalan a paragon of evil who combines the most despicable qualities of Hitler and Caligula. After he was arrested in Italy on Nov. 12, the prospect of him being brought home in chains sent Turks into paroxysms of ecstasy.

Italians, however, refused to extradite him. They said they could not because their Constitution forbids extraditing anyone to countries that practice the death penalty. Several Italian politicians also noted that European accords forbid sending criminal suspects to places where they might face torture. Armando Cossutta, whose Party of Italian Communists is part of the ruling coalition, went so far as to call Mr. Öcalan "the leader of an oppressed people."

Turks were furious, saying Italy was embracing terrorism and threatening to punish it with economic boycotts. Their outrage may have been justified, but to Europeans it seemed strident and immature. "Any undue pressure on the Italian Government, including unilateral threats, is inappropriate and must be avoided," sniffed Austria's Foreign Minister, Wolfgang Schäussel.

Many Europeans sympathize with the Kurds as a stateless people victimized by a succession of empires, kingdoms and nations. Some have allowed this sympathy to lead them to support for Mr. Öcalan's Kurdistan Workers Party, or P.K.K. They see it as a liberation movement, even in light of a report issued this month by Human Rights Watch that enumerated 25 massacres it has perpetrated since 1992. This romanticism fits not only with Europe's image of the Kurds as tragic heroes, but with its image of the Turks, who are seen by some as brutes and whose less than sterling human rights record tends to confirm the stereotype.

Italy's Prime Minister, Massimo D'Alema, was probably sincere last week when he urged Turkey to "find a solution to this long and bloody conflict by following the



In Ankara, a Turkish man burned Italian-made ties as a protest.

examples of Northern Ireland and the Basque country." So, no doubt, was the chairman of the foreign affairs committee in Germany's parliament, Hans-Ulrich Klose, who called Mr. Öcalan's capture "a good opportunity for solving the country's problems with the P.K.K. and making the necessary reforms in Turkey."

"The Turkish Government's reaction is overblown and takes Turkey very far from its target, Europe," Mr. Klose asserted.

But for an array of historical and psychological reasons, Turks abhor any suggestion that they should begin a dialogue with Kurdish nationalists. Anyone who makes such a suggestion is considered abysmally ignorant or worse. Many Turks now see Europe in that category.

It has been almost exactly a year since the European Union slammed its door in Turkey's face by pointedly excluding Turkey from a list of 11 possible candidates for

## Fears of harsh treatment in Istanbul stir sympathy for a rebel whom Turks liken to Caligula.

membership. In the interim, several European leaders have recognized that they may have acted too harshly. This month the European Union issued a new report that took a much more encouraging tone. "Turkey is eligible to become a candidate," Hans van den Broek, the Union's external affairs commissioner, said as he issued the report. The Union's representative in Ankara, Karen Fogg, called it "a very positive indication," and Turkey's Foreign Minister, Ismail Cem, said, "The E. U. Commission's definition of Turkey as the 12th candidate for full membership has opened the way for improvement in bilateral relations."

The election of a left-leaning Government in Germany last month seemed to give another boost to Turkey's European ambitions. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder pledged after taking office that he would support measures "bringing Turkey still closer to the European Union."

**T**HE Öcalan affair and Turkey's reaction to it, however, have confirmed European stereotypes about Turkey as a country that has not yet learned the rules of civilized discourse. Even some Turkish leaders seemed to acknowledge that Turkey's language might have become too strident. President Süleyman Demirel urged Turks to "be well contained and not undermine the country's case." Nonetheless, in the wake of the collapse of Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz's Government on Wednesday, politicians will probably crank up their patriotic denunciations of Europe with an eye to the forthcoming election campaign.

Many Turks, including the entire political elite, believe that Mr. Öcalan is such a hideous war criminal that there can be no debate over the justice of Turkey's demand for his extradition. But in Europe, everything is supposed to be open to debate. The contrast suggests to some European leaders that Turkey is still in the grip of a distinctly un-European tradition.

"We had just reached the point of telling Turkey that its application to join the E.U. would be considered on the same basis as every other application, and then this happens," a European ambassador lamented. "Now there will be a period of silence, at best. Turkey is not making it easy for us. They're not helping their own image."

## The Ifs And Buts

Continued from Page 9

flicting pain on all cigarette producers, actually enriches a few of them. Take Liggett & Myers, which until recently was valued at about \$120 million and which hadn't turned a profit in several years. Under the deal, Liggett will actually collect an annual subsidy of about \$100 million, courtesy of taxpayers.

Here's how. A tax hike applies to all cigarette producers, big and small, current and future. But the states can only collect damages from the companies they are suing: in this case, the Big Four: Philip Morris, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco, Lorillard Tobacco and Brown & Williamson Tobacco.

But by limiting damages to the largest companies, the states would be handing smaller tobacco producers like Liggett a cost advantage of 35 cents a pack, since the Big Four would have to raise their prices, while the little guys would not. Given that it costs just 20 cents to manufacture a pack of cigarettes, that's a huge advantage.

**H**OW did the states solve the problem? In effect, they told the small companies that if they agreed to be "taxed" they would be allowed — up to a limit higher than their current sales — to keep the revenue they collected instead of turning them in to the states. Thus, Liggett can match the higher prices charged by the Big Four companies but doesn't have to hand over any of the extra income except in the unlikely event that its sales exceed 400 million packs, or 125 percent of its current sales.

Even assuming that Liggett loses some sales when it raises its prices, Mr. Klemperer said, the subsidy it will collect still amounts to \$100 million a year, an amount equal to its recent market value.

Actually, Liggett gained even more from the tobacco agreement. Because of agreements reached earlier with some states, Liggett wasn't as vulnerable as the other companies to states' threats to pass punitive legislation if it failed to climb aboard. To induce Liggett to sign on, Philip Morris, eager to dispel the threat of a firm that could potentially produce cigarettes at a 35-cent cost advantage, paid three times the value of the entire company for 3 of Liggett's 14 brands. The contract stipulated that Philip Morris would pay Liggett \$150 million even if the Federal Trade Commission shoots down the deal.

Ian Ayres, a professor at the Yale Law School, is among those worried about the precedent set by the settlement. "It's scary," he said.



# The Nation

## Squaring Off, at Last, On Social Security

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

**S**INCE it was created in 1935, Social Security has been the centerpiece of the nation's social contract, an intergenerational commitment to provide at least a subsistence income to the most vulnerable of citizens.

The commitment appears as solid as ever. But with Social Security facing long-term financial problems, the means of making good on it are now under serious debate for the first time since Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed what would become the most enduring of New Deal legacies.

Ten months after President Clinton said that shoring up the system should become the nation's top domestic priority, he and Congressional leaders will begin examining the options in earnest and probing for common ground at a two-day White House conference next month, kicking off a process that could as easily end in partisan gridlock as in the historic achievement both parties are hoping for.

Should the country stick with the system it has used for 63 years and continue to levy taxes on current workers and their employers to pay current retirees? Or, as the time draws near for the vast baby boom generation to move onto Social Security, should the nation shift to a system under which individuals would invest a portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement accounts?

It is an issue that turns to some extent on the complexities of actuarial tables, benefit formulas and other arcane. But in a broader sense it encapsulates fundamental tradeoffs: between individual and collective responsibility, market forces and government, and maximizing rewards and minimizing risks. Indeed, few issues have such a rich ideological backdrop or high political stakes, a fact that promises to make the debate over Social Security's future particularly contentious.

The problem is rooted in inexorable demographic change. Because there will be fewer workers paying taxes relative to the number of retirees drawing benefits once the 76 million baby boomers leave the workforce in coming decades, Social Security will take in only enough revenue to pay 75 percent of its obligations starting around 2032.

Efforts to reach a solution are being framed in part by how the world has changed since 1935. Life expectancy is shooting up, so most people will spend far longer in retirement than anyone envisioned six decades ago. Investing, long the province of the elite, is now a routine part of middle-class life. Faith in market-based capitalism, which probably hit a nadir around the time of Social Security's creation, has long been on the rise, tested though it has been by the recent bout of global financial turmoil. At the same time, trust that government can deal with the big issues has eroded since Vietnam and Watergate.

To conservatives, such changes are a call to put more responsibility in the hands of individuals and an opportunity to put the power of the markets to work for everyone through private Social Security accounts. If in the process the country scales back the biggest of all Government social programs, so much the better.

"It's one of the reasons the debate has been so fierce," said Michael Tanner, the director of health and welfare studies at the libertarian Cato Institute. "There's a recognition, particularly on the part of the left, that Social Security and Medicare are the last programmatic links between the average citizen and the government."

To liberals, though, the changes that have taken place do not undermine the case for a collective approach to income security for the elderly and other

### Social Problem

As the older population rises ...

The number of Americans over 65, actual and projected, from the beginning of the baby boom through the boomers' retirement.

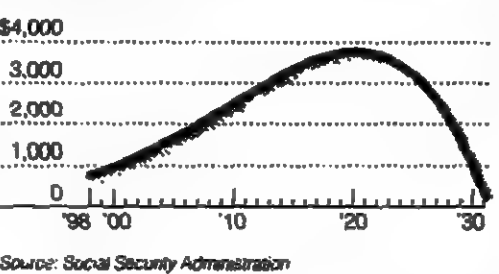


Percentage of total population



... Will the money run out?

Projected year-end assets in Social Security trust funds, in billions of current dollars.



Source: Social Security Administration

beneficiaries of Social Security, including disabled workers and those left behind when a breadwinner dies.

Most individuals, said Henry J. Aaron, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, do not do a very good job of planning for distant or unlikely events like retirement or disability. Moreover, he said, since many people are already exposed to the risks of big stock market swings through 401(k) programs and Individual Retirement Accounts, there is good reason to maintain Social Security as a guaranteed benefit in which any investment or economic risks — as well as administrative costs — are spread across the generations and income levels. The wild gyrations in the stock market this year underscore the point.

"The reasons that led the nation to adopt social insurance are about as strong now as they ever were," Mr. Aaron said.

**T**HERE is some common ground. Many, though not all, Democrats support looking to the returns available on Wall Street to help plug the hole, just as Republicans do. But rather than resort to the wholesale shift into private accounts advocated by Republicans, many Democrats want the investing to be done by the Government itself, using the surplus that will build up for the next 15 years as payroll tax receipts exceed what the system pays out in benefits.

Indeed, nearly every facet of any plan is likely to have as many opponents as supporters. Increasing the retirement age to, say, 70, would go a long way toward restoring the system's health, but is vehemently opposed by organized labor. Eliminating or substantially



Before the baby boom, before computers, at work in a simpler time for Social Security.

raising the cap on earnings subject to the payroll tax — currently \$83,400 — would solve much of the problem, but would amount to a big tax increase on middle- and upper-income people.

So it remains unclear whether it will be politically feasible to piece together a compromise.

"There is a growing understanding that this is a big issue out there," said Kenneth Apfel, the Social Security Commissioner, "but I must say I have yet to see any kind of consensus emerge."

Success will depend to some extent on political calculations by both parties. Congressional Democrats will have to decide whether to compromise now or delay in the hope that they might regain control of the House in 2000.

Republicans will have to decide whether to make a deal so they can turn attention to what they see as a more potent issue, tax cuts. And Mr. Clinton, more eager than ever after his travails this year to leave a positive

legacy, will have to decide whether to take a bold stand or work behind the scenes to cobble together a one-from-column-A, one-from-column-B solution.

With more than three decades to go before the problem hits, there would not appear to be much urgency. But economists say that every year that goes by will make any solution more expensive to taxpayers and beneficiaries alike. Perhaps more important, the political and economic climate is as favorable now as it is likely to be for years: a second-term President who does not have to worry about re-election, a big Federal budget surplus and a baby boom generation that has a stake in keeping the system healthy for another half century.

"We need to reach a consensus on needed changes," said Michael J. Boskin, who was the Bush Administration's chief economist, "adopt them now and phase them in gradually before the demographic transition overwhelms us economically and politically."

### Fire-Proofing Janet Reno

## Job Security and the Independent Counsel Law

By DAVID JOHNSTON

**M**ORE than any other Attorney General, Janet Reno has been bedeviled by the independent counsel law. In just five years, she has ordered the appointment of seven independent prosecutors and turned down requests for a number of others, and is now considering two more investigations of Administration officials.

Her decisions have, in turn, infuriated both the White House and its Republican critics, and her tenure at the Justice Department has been largely defined by how she has used — or, to some, misused — the law.

But in addition to being a constant source of political trouble for Ms. Reno, the statute, enacted after Watergate to keep politics out of high-level corruption cases, has probably helped Ms. Reno keep her job, which she might have lost long ago. Following President Clinton's re-election in 1996, there was a push by Administration officials to get rid of her: they felt stung by her quickness to appoint independent prosecutors.

But in the polarized arena of independent counsel politics, each time either the Democrats or the Republicans seem ready to take aim at Ms. Reno, they draw back, fearing a backlash against what could look like attacks on the political independence of a popular Attorney General.

Last week, with White House officials barely concealing their relief, Ms. Reno took the political heat again by refusing to seek an independent prosecutor to examine Vice President Al Gore's campaign finance activities. Ms. Reno's job once again seemed secure. There is no longer any backstairs gossip that Mr. Clinton wants to dump her.

As a result, Republicans had little realistic hope of doing anything about their frustration.

Senator Arlen Specter, a Republican of Pennsylvania, demanded Judiciary Committee hearings into her reluctance to pursue investigations of campaign financing, but there seemed little desire among his



President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno at the White House last April.

colleagues to summon Ms. Reno to Congress.

However, the dynamics could shift again, and soon. Tomorrow she must decide whether an outside prosecutor should investigate whether Harold M. Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff, lied to Congress about his dealings with the Teamsters Union, whose financial support the Democrats were seeking in the 1996 campaign. And next week she must decide whether to pursue allegations that President Clinton and his aides illegally evaded Federal election laws when they spent millions of dollars of Democratic Party funds on political advertising.

Justice Department aides insist that Ms. Reno is unconcerned about the impact of her decisions on her own job or political standing. They said she has neutrally exercised the law, unmotivated by politics, and has consistently applied an unwieldy Federal statute.

**B**UT as her Republican critics, like Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, have pointed out, she has blocked for more than two years any appointment of an independent prosecutor to investigate campaign finance cases. She has refused to seek an independent counsel even though Louis J. Freeh, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Charles G. La Bella, the former head of her campaign finance team, strongly recommended that she send the case to an outside prosecutor.

Should Ms. Reno decide to go forward with an independent prosecutor in either the Ickes or the Clinton campaign advertising matters, it will be the Clinton Administration's turn to be upset. During Mr. Clinton's first term, Ms. Reno's apparent eagerness to refer cases to independent prosecutors made her a serious irritant to the White House, where officials never made a secret of their differences with Ms. Reno. They routinely dismissed her as a cranky loner. Beneath the complaints, however, was a

more substantive issue. She had sought a string of independent counsel inquiries into Mike Espy, the former Agriculture Secretary; Henry G. Cisneros, the former Housing Secretary; Ron Brown, the Commerce Secretary who died in a plane crash in Croatia in 1996, and even a little known official, Eli J. Segal, who headed the American Corps national service program.

Of course, it was White House officials themselves who had asked Ms. Reno to bring in an outside prosecutor to investigate Whitewater. Ms. Reno obediently named a respected New York lawyer, Robert Fiske, to conduct the inquiry. The case was later taken over by Kenneth W. Starr.

Presidential aides soon expressed exasperation when Ms. Reno repeatedly expanded the scope of Mr. Starr's investigation into matters like the mishandling of personnel files at the White House, the abrupt dismissal of employees of the White House travel office and the truthfulness of statements made at a Congressional hearing by Bernard W. Nussbaum, the former White House counsel and ally of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

As a result, when Mr. Clinton won re-election Ms. Reno appeared to be in trouble. For weeks he left her in limbo about whether he would keep her on the job at the Justice Department, passing up opportunities to state clearly that she had his support. White House aides said privately that Mr. Clinton's advisers wanted to ease her out of the Justice Department.

Eventually, Mr. Clinton's aides said they concluded that if the President fired a popular Attorney General, he would face powerful attacks from Republicans in Congress, who delighted in her decisions to open independent investigations of Mr. Clinton's Cabinet officers.

In the end, some of Mr. Clinton's aides expressed fears that ousting Ms. Reno would allow Republicans to accuse the President of a Saturday Night Massacre like the one that forced Attorney General Elliot Richardson to resign rather than carry out President Nixon's order to fire Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox. In a city like Washington, that's job security.

سكنا من الاصل



## ECONOMY

## In Recruiting Bowl, Students Employ Tough Game Plans

By ANDREW ROSS SORKIN

**J**OSHUA COHEN, a senior at the University of Michigan, has a dozen folders in his file cabinet that are crammed with financial reports and news clippings about companies he is pursuing for a job. He bought a cellular phone so he would be available to recruiters 24 hours a day.

Mr. Cohen, an English major who has already had internships at Salomon Smith Barney and Bear Stearns, said job hunting was "like taking an extra class," but it might well add up to even more than that. Companies are on campus nearly every day, and Mr. Cohen sometimes spends hours with a recruiter.

With only six months until graduation, the class of '99 is prepping for entry into the real world. While many seniors will not begin job-hunting until next semester, a growing band of students seeking jobs on Wall Street and in consulting have already begun a recruiting game that just keeps getting more competitive.

A year ago, with the markets roaring, the appetite for new blood was huge. As students scrambled to win entry-level jobs at top companies, companies were racing to snare the top students. The cream of the class emerged with multiple offers and five-figure bonuses for jobs that typically encompass the grunt work of basic research and support.

But now, with the markets' tumultuous summer and fall bringing cutbacks on Wall Street, the competition among the students has heated up. To land jobs, the class of '99 is leaving no angle unexamined.

"I really think I should put it on bond as opposed to linen," a senior at Cornell University said recently to her two roommates. It was almost 1 A.M. the night before a campus job fair, and she was talking earnestly about her résumé.

"I read that you don't want to stand out, so linen paper is definitely out," she said anxiously, declining to be identified for fear that her comments might affect her chances of landing a certain consulting job. "And I have to print it on white paper, not cream."

For students, the angst is heavy with déjà vu. Just four short years after agonizing over S.A.T.'s and college applications, they are again polishing cover letters — still in some cases ghost-written by parents, and now almost always edited by professors and career counselors.

Glorified descriptions of internships and extracurricular activities may pepper the résumés — laser-printed, of course, on fancy paper. Calls go out to friends and relatives in search of a "connection." Even those S.A.T. scores cannot be forgotten: some consulting firms ask for them, along with college transcripts.

While graduating seniors have long faced this trying process, by many accounts the intensity of the job hunt has stepped up recently. "The last couple of years has really stretched rational thinking," said David Reed, director of global recruiting at Andersen Consulting in Chicago.

Though this is clearly a buyers' market, top employers have not eased up. Partly, no doubt, this is because they still want the best people, even if there are fewer jobs to fill. But, perhaps too, the recruiting frenzy has taken on a life of its own.

So with some Wall Street firms offering starting salaries in excess of \$50,000 for undergraduates with nothing more than a B.A., the competition — on both sides — can reach fever pitch. "A lot of employers really ratcheted up starting salaries, and bonuses have become much more prevalent," Mr. Reed said.

The pressure has created a new breed of ultra-informed, sometimes overzealous students who come to the recruiting process with broad knowledge — and sometimes experience — in a given industry.

"They are just so much more sophisticated," said Peter D. Kiernan 3d, a partner on the recruiting com-

mittee at Goldman, Sachs. "If I were to look at the students today compared with the students even two years ago or five years ago, their state of awareness of investment banking or sales and trading is dramatically higher."

And the process starts earlier. Some students begin jockeying for interviews as juniors or even sophomores, vying for internships that might help them clinch a full-time, permanent job later.

Valentina Chamorro, a senior at Harvard, had an internship last summer at J.P. Morgan, which has already offered her a post-graduation job. "I wanted to get a feel for what you do day to day," said Ms. Chamorro, a government major. "The people at J.P. Morgan were amazing and really took their time to teach me about banking and how to do research and how to be analytical."

Mr. Cohen's internships have not landed him a job yet, but he still says he has the best chance at companies that already know him. "They know my work ethic," he said.

Internships have become especially important for students who are not finance or economics majors. "As an English major, having Bear Stearns on the top of my résumé has definitely helped," Mr. Cohen said.

Even a path not taken can be a plus. Mr. Cohen was offered an internship with BT Alex. Brown last summer. He rejected it to go to Bear Stearns, but the offer alone helped him go directly to the final interview round at Alex. Brown this fall.

## An Ephemeral Prize

Ms. Chamorro, with a job offer in hand, is one of the lucky few. Come spring, as most students well know, the pickings will be slim.

"No question, we will be seeing some real cutbacks in hiring," said Steve Pollack, co-founder of Wet

## With bankers cutting back, college recruiting gets even more competitive.

Feet Press, a San Francisco company that tracks the recruiting process. But he hesitated to say that the cuts would be deep.

"Despite the fact that a lot of these banks are announcing big layoffs, they still need these pools of talent to come in," Mr. Cohen said. "And new graduates, he added, "are still relatively cheap labor."

Mr. Cohen, who was not called back to a second round of interviews with Bain & Company and Andersen Consulting, said he had already expanded his job hunt to include commercial banks. "I guess you could call that hitting the panic button," he said.

"If I got an offer today, even if it's not my top choice," he added, "I'd consider taking the job, just to have something in the bank."

Students seek out careers in investment banking or management consulting because in many ways it is the quintessential transitional job. Most enter the field as analysts and stay only two to three years, after which many pursue an M.B.A. or change careers.

"In many situations, the M.B.A. is the ticket for admission," Mr. Reed said.

## The Three-Act Ritual

After graduate school, it is common for them to return to their original employer, which might well have paid their business school tuitions. Yet most companies are keen to stress that while they are great places to start out, the chances are slim that a new hire will stay even five years.

McKinsey & Company, widely re-

garded as one of the most successful campus recruiters, tells students that only 25 percent of those hired in 1996 still worked for the company in 1998.

In the last decade, campus recruiting has changed dramatically. Most Wall Street firms used to stop only at a few Ivy League schools — perpetuating, some recruiters now say, the idea of an old-boy network. But when demand surged, Wall Street cast its nets much wider.

"That's good news, because at any school you hit diminishing returns," Mr. Kiernan said. "But it means that firms have to involve more people and go to more schools and spend more time — and frankly, it's more competitive."

Campus recruiting today is often a three-act ritual: a career fair, followed by information sessions and the infamous interview process.

The career fair, traditionally early in the school year, keeps creeping closer to the first week of classes. These convention-style events — "live meat markets," one Price-waterhouseCoopers recruiter called them — usually last a day or two, and are held in athletic field houses, with hundreds of companies erecting fancy booths. Joining Wall Street firms might be recruiters from consumer products companies like Procter & Gamble and S.C. Johnson or technology giants like Microsoft, Intel and Motorola.

In addition to charting up prospective employees, almost every company gives away hundreds of logo-adorned goodies. T-shirts and pens used to be the hot items, but this year, possibly in a commentary on the times, everyone has been giving away stress balls — those squishy, rubbery things you squeeze to relieve tension.

Stress balls may not be enough. "I feel like I'm selling my soul for the next 20 years to the most interesting offer I get," Tamara C. Nedjar, a Cornell senior, said as she left this year's fair.

More and more students flock to these events in business attire, résumés in hand, hoping to pose some memorable question to a recruiter. An exceptional comment — particularly to a partner — can get a student "fast tracked" through an otherwise cumbersome process. At day's end, some big firms make "on-campus callbacks" — sometimes by E-mail — setting up interviews or arranging an informal lunch.

Most efforts to be noticed, though, are futile. Recruiters are generally low-level people, often recent hires or alumni of the host school. Their job is to sell the company to the students, not vice versa. Many recruiters who have worked the fairs say they can do little to help any specific student.

The fairs give rise to some disorienting transformations. "I ran into two friends wearing suits the other day," said Daniel Richenthal, a senior economics major at Amherst College. "It's sort of like, wait a second, it seems like yesterday I was living in the same hallway with you and we were up at 3 in the morning playing music way too loud and acting stupid. All of a sudden you're wearing a suit, holding this leather legal pad on the way to an interview. It's all very surreal."

## The Simulations

Several weeks after a fair, most companies return to campus to put on a dog-and-pony show called an "information session." These can run several hours, and they almost always include a promotional video with the requisite images of Wall Street signs and spaceships rocketing off into the clouds.

"If you've been to one, you've been to them all," Mr. Cohen said.

Some companies, though, are trying hip, more stylized videos. This year, Salomon Smith Barney, a unit of Citicorp, produced a short video called "Road Show Rules," a parody of MTV's "Road Rules" program, replete with rock-and-roll background music. The 15-minute video follows a couple of analysts docu-



Job fairs, like this one last month at Harvard University, typically kick off a three-act ritual of campus recruiting. Such fairs, traditionally held early in the school year, keep creeping closer to the first week of classes — a sign of the increased intensity of the hunt for post-college jobs.

mentary style through an initial public offering.

Not everyone is impressed. "Is the video portraying what you're going to be really doing?" Mr. Richenthal asked. "If you get the job, you are going to be at the bottom of the totem pole. I don't know if a video with fast music and smiling people walking around the globe is going to be you when you are sitting in your cubicle."

When Goldman, Sachs came to Cornell last month for its information session, it brought almost 50 employees to answer questions from a packed room of young people dressed in conservative garb.

"They tell us, 'We want you,'" Mr. Richenthal said. "But if you look around the room there are 100 other people just like you — and they can't wait all of you."

Some information sessions migrate to a local bar, where the alcohol flows freely and the tab is picked up by the company.

Then comes the dreaded interview process — if a student is picked. "The résumé is the most important aspect in terms of getting in the door," said Mariam Naficy, author of "The Fast Track" (Broadway Books, 1997), an insider's account of how to land a job at an investment bank or consulting firm. Ms. Naficy, who just received an M.B.A. from Stanford Business School, previously worked as an analyst at Goldman, Sachs and as a consultant at Gemini Management Consulting.

"After you get invited to an interview," she said, "your personality and what you say will dramatically impact the decision."

## Ticking Time Bombs

There are normally three rounds of interviews — elimination-style. The first is usually a basic, get-to-know-you conversation. But some interviewers ask tough questions from the outset.

"I walked into the interview, and before the guy even says, 'Hi, how are you doing?' he asks me, 'What's the sum of 1 through 100 consecutively,'" said a student who recently interviewed with Goldman, Sachs. "After pausing for a while, I said: 'I don't know. Like five or six thousand?' The guy looks at me like so not amused and he goes, 'No, there is a real answer for it.'" (In case you're asked, it's 5,050.)

Recruiters say hard questions are asked early because of a need to winnow candidate lists quickly and find the stars. The problem, some say, is that the same students end up interviewing with every company.

"At a small school, you end up with 5 to 10 people who are at every interview — every second round, every third round — and to some de-

gree it can be true at the larger schools like Harvard, Yale and Stanford," Ms. Naficy said.

As a competitive tactic, some companies have begun to make "exploding offers." Like ticking time bombs, these job offers expire at a certain time if not accepted. Many recruiters liken this to the trend by universities to admit more students through binding early-decision admissions.

Ms. Chamorro's offer from J.P. Morgan, in fact, "explodes" tomorrow, and last week she was leaning toward accepting it. "Obviously there is some pressure," she said. "It's made the semester a little busier than I expected, because I obviously don't want to make a decision without looking into all my options." Ms. Chamorro has been exploring the consulting field, but said she planned to take the offer if she opts for investment banking. "I'm the kind of person who goes to every store when I go shopping before I buy anything," she added.

Even some internship offers "explode," like Mr. Cohen's last spring from Bear Stearns, which he had to accept or reject within days. "Some internships are harder to get than real jobs," he said.

While some recruiters see exploding offers as a necessary evil, others say they put undue pressure on the student. "It is coercive," Mr. Kiernan of Goldman, Sachs said. "I tell students: 'Don't let these employers bully you. You are a legitimate person, and if someone puts an exploding offer on you, in my judgment, it questions your legitimacy.'"

By the second round of interviews, the questions typically move from personal histories to a student's reasoning and logic. Investment banks often ask brain teasers, while management consulting firms tend to pose questions about situations that might be encountered on the job. Recruiters say they are interested in the thought process, not necessarily in whether the answer is correct.

"The case interviews definitely prepare you for the bizarre," Mr. Cohen said.

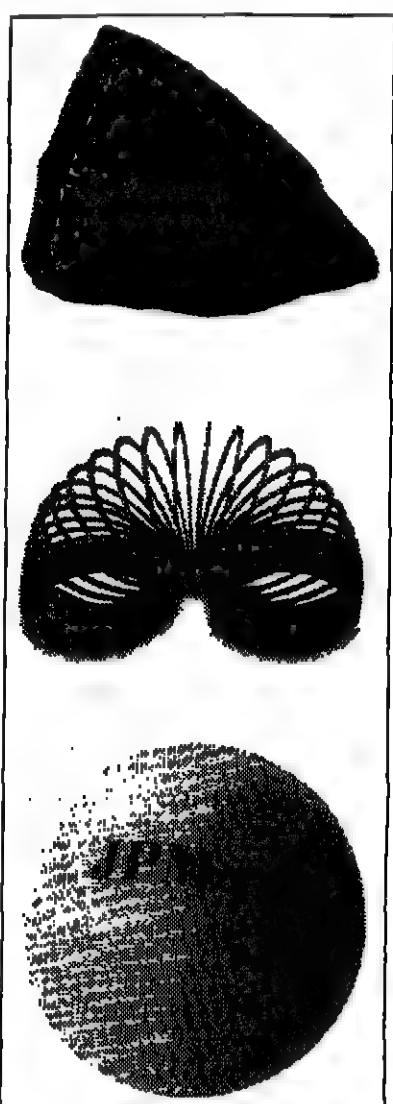
## Courtied at Last

If students make it through two rounds, they are invited to company headquarters. For those lucky few, most recruiters agree, the chances are good that a job offer is in the cards. These interviews often turn into all-expenses-paid weekend parties, as companies woo students by putting them up in fancy hotels and taking them to expensive restaurants.

Recently Credit Suisse First Boston flew some 50 seniors to New York City for the weekend. The first night, they were treated to dinner at Tribeca Grill, then whisked by limousine to Lemon, a trendy bar and restaurant, for drinks.

The second day is usually filled with intensive interviews and office tours. "It is very seductive," Ms. Naficy said. "It has a major influence on people who are right out of college and are interested in experiencing the real world."

Some students take full advantage of the opportunity. "I realized pretty



Most companies give away hundreds of trinkets at on-campus career fairs. This year's goodies include a piece of the rock, a Slinky (from Citibank) and the ubiquitous stress ball.

quick you can pretty much expense completely ridiculous amounts," said a 1998 Ivy League graduate now employed at Andersen Consulting, who spoke on the condition of anonymity. "Every single meal you should really make it your goal to eat at the most expensive restaurant you possibly can and order the most expensive thing on the menu. They will never question you." He said he even got one company he had no interest in working for to give him a free flight home for the holidays.

That is surely not the norm, but it does show how savvy some students are in job shopping. Still, what has undeniably not changed in the last decade is the ultimate credential.

"The one common denominator is, somewhere along the line these individuals cared deeply about something other than good grades," Mr. Kiernan said. "It could be ballet, the debating team or algebra team. If someone cares intensely about pursuing excellence, we think there is a predictability about their ability to transfer that sense of intensity and sense of purpose to their career."

He added: "It's about really caring deeply about something other than just the A+."

## The Job Picture This Year

Recent volatility in financial markets has inserted doubt in many companies' staffing plans. But the big banks, brokerage firms and consultancies still plan to add many new college graduates to their analyst ranks next spring. Here are highlights of hiring plans and the usual employment terms at selected financial services and consulting companies.

	Expected number of new college graduates hired, 1998-99	Estimated starting salary	Signing bonus and allowance	Year-end bonus	Graduate business school tuition reimbursed	Core campuses for recruitment
<b>FINANCIAL SERVICES</b>						
Chubb	100 to 120	\$45,000	Up to \$3,000	\$5,000 to \$10,000	Typically not	10
J.P. Morgan	225 to 250	\$40,000	\$6,000 relocation	Varies	Sometimes	40
Morgan Stanley Dean Witter	365	\$40,000	Relocation	\$10,000 to \$15,000	Typically not	21
<b>MANAGEMENT CONSULTING</b>						
Andersen	6,200	\$35,000 to \$40,000	Varies	None	Sometimes	300
Booz-Allen & Hamilton	100 to 150	\$48,000 to \$55,000	\$2,000	10% to 15%	Yes	Ivy League; historically black schools
McKinsey & Company	400 to 500	\$47,000 to \$55,000	\$3,000	None	Yes	20

\*Not guaranteed.

Source: Wet Feet Press

## So What's an Analyst, Anyway?

When a fresh college graduate lands a job at an investment bank or a consulting firm, the drying ink on the business cards usually says "analyst." It's a bit cryptic, but it sounds better than "cannon fodder."

In this context, analysts are support workers for senior-level staff. They do research legwork, draft reports, create and update spreadsheets, assemble presentations and gather information from clients.

At consulting firms, analysts are often traveling, spending up

to four days a week visiting clients.

At investment banks, analysts tend to burn the midnight oil in the home office instead.

Analyst positions in both industries are intended to last only for two or three years.

After that, a small number of analysts are promoted directly to more senior posts.

The rest go back to school for an M.B.A. or find another career path, while their desks, laptops and phone extensions are recycled to a new analyst crop.



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## Janet Reno's Dwindling Choices

Attorney General Janet Reno's decision last week to clear Vice President Al Gore of campaign illegalities was hardly surprising. Mr. Gore's telephone soliciting from Government property was one of the Clinton campaign's more innocuous fundraising activities, and the evidence was mixed. But Senator Orrin Hatch was right to send up a warning about Ms. Reno's motives. The need for an independent counsel with broad powers to examine the White House's 1996 fund-raising has been established by journalistic accounts and Congressional hearings, and by legal opinions from the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the former chief prosecutor of the Justice Department's campaign-finance task force. So far Ms. Reno has managed to avoid taking their advice by singling out subsidiary activities like Mr. Gore's phone calls and citing narrow legal grounds for preliminary inquiries. In the days ahead, Mr. Hatch warned, we will learn whether the Attorney General will undermine "the rule of law and integrity of the Department of Justice" by preventing an unbiased inquiry into the Democratic effort to circumvent campaign laws, to use White House invitations to entice donors and to collect suspicious foreign contributions.

Ms. Reno has two more opportunities to do her duty and appoint an independent counsel to investigate such suspicious activities. The clock is still running on preliminary inquiries into Harold Ickes, the former deputy White House chief of staff who planned the 1996 re-election effort, and into the White House use of party money to pay for thinly disguised re-election ads. As the F.B.I. Director, Louis Freeh, and the former chief prosecutor, Charles La Bella, have concluded, the evidence is serious enough to require Ms. Reno to recuse herself in favor of a prosecutor who does not report to the President.

Ms. Reno is not the only official who needs to come to grips with issues of law and conscience. The Federal Election Commission is due this week to rule on a staff audit of Mr. Clinton's re-election campaign. The audit is said to conclude that the use of unregulated "soft money" for Mr. Clinton's re-election advertising violated the election laws. The six-member commission is often divided on partisan lines on campaign issues. But in their meeting

this week, the commissioners could decide to reject the auditors' finding. They are under pressure to do so because if Mr. Clinton's ads violated the law, so probably did the soft-money ads for Bob Dole, the Republican nominee. We urge the commissioners to endorse the findings of the auditors and close a loophole through which the Presidential candidates drove tens of millions of dollars in illegal fund-raising and spending.

Whatever the commission does, Ms. Reno should accept the auditors' finding — and those of Mr. Freeh and Mr. La Bella — that this issue must be decided by someone not beholden to Mr. Clinton and his inner circle. This is more than a technical issue. The law says that unregulated soft money can only go to certain party-building activities like voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives. If Ms. Reno and the Federal Election Commission look the other way while candidates circumvent the law, the parties will simply step up their shakedown of corporations, unions and rich donors to finance election campaigns.

With the Gore case out of the way, many in Washington believe it more likely that Ms. Reno will appoint an independent counsel to look into alleged misstatements by Mr. Ickes. But any counsel needs a mandate that goes beyond a single official or even the admittedly substantial issue of soft-money purchases of television time. The White House was at the center of a pervasively reckless fund-raising operation, and the Government still does not know the full extent of the shadowy fund-raising from foreign sources, the extent to which favors were traded to China or its business allies, and whether Chinese Government money went into campaign accounts.

Ms. Reno keeps boasting that her actions are based on micro-readings of the statutes. Senator Hatch is right that she has an overarching obligation to provide answers to bigger allegations of conspiracy and corruption measured in millions. If Ms. Reno takes a dive, Congress will have to find a way next year to get those investigative answers. Ms. Reno, for her part, will have nailed down the title of the most politically compromised Attorney General since Watergate.

## Shelter for the Neediest

This is the time of year when thoughts turn toward home, when the very idea of home seems enriched by the holidays that now lie before us. The weather sharpens, and when it is at its worst, you understand for a moment what it is like to be grateful for something as basic as shelter. To most of us, that feeling is almost a luxury, but to far too many New Yorkers the question of shelter arises every day, a source of worry so fundamental that it suffocates the spirit. Some New Yorkers are homeless, and many more have shelter but lack heat, water, safety, privacy and a sense of independence, all the things that define our sense of home.

In 1912, Adolph S. Ochs inaugurated The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund, which helps seven of the city's largest and oldest charities go about their work. The Community Service Society of New York is one of those seven and one of the largest anti-poverty organizations in New York. It works directly to prevent homelessness, and it has established a community initiative in Bedford-Stuyvesant designed to stabilize and improve the quality of life for residents of a particularly hard-hit neighborhood by giving residents control over their own

housing. As David Jones, the director of C.S.S., points out, "amenity giving" — aid by private individuals to New York's cultural institutions — has increased dramatically over the past few years, but aid to charities concerned with poverty and homelessness has not kept pace. These have been prosperous times, but general prosperity has not been an antidote to the despair felt in many parts of this city. The only antidote is a sense of shared responsibility, which can be expressed by your donation to The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund.

What inspired Mr. Ochs 86 years ago should still inspire all of us — a sense that the extreme and ever-growing disparity between rich and poor in this city is not an impersonal fact of life but a matter of personal accountability. Every dollar raised during this annual appeal is used for direct aid in the city's five boroughs. No money is diverted for solicitation or administrative expenses. Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent permitted by law. Checks should be made payable to The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund and mailed to P.O. Box 5193, General Post Office, New York, N.Y. 10087.

Editorial Observer/VERLYN KLINKENBORG

## The Noble Ideal of Rationalism in Nazi Dresden

By October 1936, Victor Klemperer, a Jew, had been removed from his professorship at the Technical University in Dresden, Germany. He and his "Aryan" wife, Eva, lived in a small house of their own in a rural suburb of Dresden. They were "virtually destitute," Klemperer notes in "I Will Bear Witness," his diary of the years from 1933 to 1941. (A second volume, to 1945, will be published next year. Klemperer died in Dresden in 1990.)

In hopes of finding an appointment abroad, Klemperer had begun writing letters to friends and scholars all around the world, but it was already too late, as he well knew, and he considered himself bound to Germany. The house and its garden were the chief adornments of Eva's life, and, as Klemperer later said of his marriage, "I have always seemed glorious to myself on this point of love and faithfulness." Eva, who shared all of her husband's privations, might have said the same.

No single metaphor can convey the oppressive reality of living in a world that becomes, without limits, steadily more menacing and constricted. Every day Klemperer weighed his wife's infirmities, which were many.

### The diary of Victor Klemperer reveals the true grace of reason.

Every day he retailed the dwindling supply of marks and pennings and reassessed the restrictions the Nazis had imposed — the loss of library privileges and the right to buy tobacco and to drive a car and to live in one's own home and, eventually, to move about the streets without wearing a yellow star. Yet every day, with few exceptions, Klemperer wrote in his diary and worked on a scholarly study of 18th-century literature. It was a labor not of desperate distraction but of love.

Something about Klemperer makes him the most extraordinary German witness of Nazism that has yet come to light. Reviewers have mentioned his literary skill and his determination to chronicle the details that the historical record would miss — details that he, a Jew cast away in a sea of anti-Semitism, read as auguries of his fate. These are great qualities indeed, but what illu-

minates them is his faith in reason.

In October 1936, Klemperer notes both Hitler's attack on "intellectualism" and the widespread credulity among German people that grounded Hitler's attack. In words that still apply today, Klemperer writes: "People treat reason as if it were the most minor and harmful aspect of a whole human being. It is as if a soldier standing guard were to say to himself: What good would my rifle be, if I were now to be attacked by a dozen enemies? I shall therefore lay it aside and smoke opium cigarettes until I doze off."

For Klemperer, reason had nothing to do with class or profession or even intelligence. All around him he saw professors and intellectuals who abandoned reason for self-interest, who sided or temporized with the Nazis. He saw so many, in fact, that if he were to determine the fate of the Germans he might let ordinary people and even some leaders go. "But I would have all the intellectuals strung up, and the professors three feet higher than the rest; they would be left hanging from the lampposts for as long as was compatible with hygiene."

Klemperer was an heir of the En-

## Competition and the Internet

To the Editor:

Is the announcement that Sun Microsystems and America Online have made an agreement to acquire Netscape Communications Corporation (front page, Nov. 25) a sign of an open and healthy software market? Only if you subscribe to the robber baron's theory of free trade: the fewer the competitors, the greater the competition.

Apparently, being drawn and quartered and disemboweled is just part of Netscape's marketing strategy in its effort to divide its forces and conquer Microsoft.

In business as in the jungle, once the jackal has eaten its fill, the lesser scavengers move in to tear apart the carcass. Independence and freedom haven't heard such good news since William Wallace was raked by Edward II. JERRY DRUMMOND  
Scottsville, N.Y., Nov. 25, 1998

To the Editor:

You argue that "Microsoft has bludgeoned Netscape into dissolution, forcing a distress sale to America Online" (editorial, Nov. 25). You call a \$4.2 billion stock swap a distress sale?

In a free market, fortunes and losses are determined in a marketplace free from any government intervention. Microsoft's ascendancy has by no means hurt the consumer.

By bringing an antitrust suit against Microsoft, the Government is providing a platform for all of Microsoft's competitors to gang up and use the legal system to decimate their common business enemy. Is that fair? JAY RAGHAVAN  
Norcross, Ga., Nov. 25, 1998

To the Editor:

You argue that competition in the computer software industry must be preserved (editorial, Nov. 25). However, your suggestion that the Justice Department "vigorously pursue its antitrust suit against Microsoft" means crippling one of the industry's competitors.

Never in history has a company been able to "thwart consumer choice."

Companies by their nature are at the mercy of consumers. The hectic growth and constant upheaval in the computer industry is ample proof of this.

Only government intervention can prevent consumers from exercising

this power. The history of railroads and the recent efforts to regulate the health care industry are prime examples of this. SCOTT POWELL  
Edmonton, Canada, Nov. 25, 1998

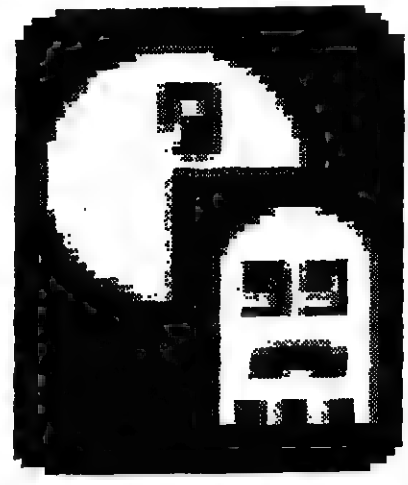
To the Editor:

Re "Competition on the Internet" (editorial, Nov. 25):

You say that it will be possible for companies to have an incentive to turn the Internet into the revolutionary medium it promises to be only when Microsoft is stopped from thwarting consumer choice. Where have you been the past several years?

In comparison to the progress of other modes of communication — telegraph, radio and television — the Internet has fared very favorably.

Moreover, system browser interaction, which you suggest be blocked, is crucial to the revolutionary developments you simultaneously demand. SAMUEL M. SPERLING  
Solana Beach, Calif., Nov. 25, 1998



ERIC T. JOHNSON

To the Editor:

Re "Competition on the Internet" (editorial, Nov. 25):

America Online's and Sun Microsystems' acquisition of Netscape is no different from Microsoft's bundling its browser with its Windows operating system.

In the end, it is consumers who will decide whether Microsoft or the combination of America Online, Sun Microsystems and Netscape wins the battle for dominance in the technology marketplace. JEFFREY B. KIEGER  
Greer, S.C., Nov. 25, 1998

## Going Beyond Debate Over Assisted Suicide

To the Editor:

In reading the Nov. 25 letter by Don Hewitt, the executive producer of "60 Minutes," Frank Rich's column, "Tick, Tick, Tick," and Robert A. Sirico's "Terminal TV" (Op-Ed, Nov. 25), I found myself looking beyond the debates over assisted suicide and journalistic ethics.

Having served for nearly 50 years as chairman of the Muscular Dystrophy Association, the major American health agency concerned with this disorder, I was saddened to think that Americans living with this disease and those who will be affected in the future could have their hopes shattered.

Yes, it is a destructive disease that normally kills within three to five years of diagnosis. On the other hand, researchers financed by M.D.A. are working to continue our progress toward finding treatments. Potential therapies are being tested in humans.

While this work goes on, there are many options to minimize suffering and improve the quality of life for people living with this disease. Proper medical care can resolve many of the issues cited in the "60 Minutes" piece. JERRY LEWIS  
Tucson, Ariz., Nov. 25, 1998

To the Editor:

Robert A. Sirico (Op-Ed, Nov. 25) misses the point in his condemnation of CBS and Dr. Jack Kevorkian after the network's broadcast of Dr. Kevorkian's lethal injection of a terminally ill man.

The Roman Catholic Church's ad-

herence to absolutes (as Father Sirico put it, "either we hold to the notion that life needs no justification... or we find ourselves unable to oppose even a terminal act of aggression against life") has apparently blinded his logic.

The point is that there is a middle ground — life may need no justification, but a future of ceaseless agony and suffering needs none either.

ROBERT F. BOROWSKY  
Franklin Park, N.J., Nov. 25, 1998

To the Editor:

The issue of euthanasia or "medical homicide" as described by Robert A. Sirico (Op-Ed, Nov. 25) deserves more attention and national debate than just simply prosecuting Dr. Jack Kevorkian. As of any change in our country from the founding of the Republic to the ending of slavery, there are always some people who resort to the law to ignore the real issue at hand.

Putting Dr. Kevorkian in jail misses the point. His action and the decision of "60 Minutes" to broadcast it should bring the country to discuss the overdue issue of euthanasia. Our decision to go forward with the debate or to hide behind the law greatly reflects on the character of our people and the progress of our country. HOA VIET LE  
Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Did TV Death Hinder Debate?" (letters, Nov. 27): I'm just one person, but think I can save the networks some time. Let's start with the obvious. Much as a re-enactment of Bill's and Monica's activities might give new legs to a story that has more than a millipede, I wouldn't advise it. And should journalists decide to cover some aspect of rape or child abuse, please know that we Americans don't need to observe either.

CBS decided that Americans needed to see someone die on television for our own good. They called it public service. Maybe the Romans thought their Colosseum provided a public service. I find both of these degrading and sad. VALERIE EVANS  
Portland, Ore., Nov. 27, 1998

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## Monicagate: Who Knew What, When?

To the Editor:

In a recent letter to Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel, Representative John Conyers Jr. asked Mr. Starr whether he knew while testifying before the committee last Thursday that Samuel Dash, his ethics adviser, would soon resign (front page, Nov. 28).

By giving credit to Mr. Dash for advising him on ethical matters, Mr. Starr raised other questions; principal among them are what Mr. Dash knew and when he knew it. After all, Mr. Dash's advice would be of little value unless it was given after a full disclosure of the relevant facts.

Two others are whether Mr. Starr informed Mr. Dash that lawyers for Paula Jones had repeatedly consulted him regarding the pending litigation against President Clinton, and whether Mr. Dash approved Mr. Starr's decision not to disclose that information to the Attorney General.

If the Attorney General had known of the consultations, she almost certainly would have declined Mr. Starr's request to extend his mandate to the Lewinsky matter. In most circumstances the failure to make such a disclosure would have eroded trust to such a degree that the offender would have been discharged. JOHN R. PRICE  
Seattle, Nov. 26, 1998

The writer is dean emeritus, University of Washington School of Law.

## Military's Role

To the Editor:

The House Judiciary Committee is mistaken in its plan to call on military personnel to give their opinions about the effect that having a Commander in Chief who has admitted that he misled the country might have on the military's code of honor (news article, Nov. 24).

Members of the military have no legitimate expertise on the moral character of our leaders. Asking them to act as if they do threatens to undermine their professionalism and to open the way for military opinion on a host of policy issues outside the military realm.

Congress needs to decide the impeachment issue and leave the military to its role of maintaining national security. DEBORAH AVANT  
Washington, Nov. 26, 1998

The writer is an associate professor of political science, George Washington University.

## Equal Treatment

To the Editor:

Re "In Interview, Starr Says 'Trot of Trip Was Lax'" (news article, Nov. 25): Kenneth W. Starr, when interviewed last week by ABC's Diane Sawyer, insisted that perjury was the most egregious crime in our legal system. He also opined that perjury cannot be forgiven.

How can we reconcile such a high-principled statement with the fact that Mr. Starr granted immunity to an admitted liar, Monica Lewinsky, thus freeing her from legal liabilities? Is not the law to be applied equally to all Americans, be they interns or Presidents? OTTO PELL  
Port Charlotte, Fla., Nov. 27, 1998

## Rule of Law?

To the Editor:

Much has been said recently about the importance of the rule of law ("Pattern of Deception," column, Nov. 24; letter, Nov. 25). We run grave risks, however, if we treat the law as an absolute.

When the rule of law runs counter to the rule of reason, the rule of law should yield.

But we should not substitute the rule of reason for the rule of law as a guiding principle. That would only provide us with a different route over the cliff of human fallibility.

No one knew better than the Founders: Balance is the most important principle. ANDREW T. STARKIS  
Andover, Mass., Nov. 25, 1998

The writer is an assistant professor at the Massachusetts School of Law.

## Russia Loses a Voice

To the Editor:

Re William Safire's column of Nov. 26, "What Russia Needs Now": Galina V. Starovoirova, who was murdered in St. Petersburg on Nov. 20, was a central figure in the democratic transformation of the Soviet Union and of post-Soviet Russia.

It may not be well known that she was a member of the international community of scholars of Russia. She visited American universities, including Harvard, on many occasions and had many friends here.

Politically, she was a survivor of an earlier and gentler age in Russian affairs. Even within the liberal opposition, she was a controversial and, at times, divisive figure. Stubbornly sticking to her convictions, she was not disposed to compromise.

I have no idea who ended her life or for what reason. If the recent record is any indication, we may never find out.

What we know, though, is that her death removes one of the dwindling number of liberal and humane voices in Russian politics and culture.

TIMOTHY J. COLTON  
Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 26, 1998  
The writer is director of the Davis Center for Russian Studies at Harvard University.

محذرا من الاصل



## Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

# Sex And Self-Pity

WASHINGTON  
I go to work, and I feel trapped in Bill Clinton's libido.

I go to the movies, and I feel trapped in Woody Allen's libido.

Neither place is a pretty place to be.

Hoping that everyone would be too stupefied from overeating to pay any attention, the President snuck out the answers to Henry Hyde's 81 "admit or deny" questions on Friday.

His answers about the Lewinsky affair were crisp, unambiguous and revealing. He finally stepped up to the plate and accepted responsibility.

Nah. Just kidding. He is the weasel king. Those old Clintonian phrases flow trippingly from the tongue: "I do not recall... I do not believe... I may have talked about what to do in a nonlegal context at some point in the past, but I have no specific memory of that conversation... I have no recollection... I cannot be absolutely sure... I cannot respond to this inquiry because of the vagueness of its terms ('indirect,' 'potential,' 'could be involved')." Tactical brain death.

The straight question provokes a corkscrew response.

"Do you admit or deny that you are the chief law-enforcement officer of the United States of America?"

Response: "The President is frequently referred to as the chief law-enforcement officer, although nothing in the Constitution specifically designates the President as such."

Henry Hyde is looking for clarity in all the wrong places.

White House officials are giggling that if the Republicans in Congress vote for impeachment, it will be political suicide — poison Kool-Aid time. "Paula Jones town," as one Clinton aide sniggers.

It is hard to get caught up in the debate over how the President should be punished. Why not a gantlet with Ping-Pong paddles? I think that life and posterity will punish Mr. Clinton more severely than Congress, Clio, the Muse of history, will remain immune to his seductions.

Even the Reverend Starr has made himself happily available to the celebrity culture. When Diane Sawyer asked him whether it would be appropriate for him to be questioned about his own private life, I was desperately hoping he would not take the bait. Instead, the buttoned-down, pursed-lipped prosecutor volunteered that he had never been unfaithful to his wife.

Woody Allen's new movie, "Celebrity," begins with a scene that many construed to be a homage to Monica and Bill. Melanie Griffith, playing a movie star, offers to give a certain kind of sex to Kenneth Branagh, a journalist writing a profile on her.

"What I do from the neck up," she says, kneeling before him, is none of her husband's business.

Ah, yes. The sex that isn't sex. It is utterly mystifying that respected actors — and worse, respected actresses — are still so flattered to appear in Woody Allen's nasty little indulgences of his own bile. A casting call from Mr. Allen is just an invitation to degradation.

## Bill & Woody, going bananas.

I was not sure he could top the ugly scene in "Deconstructing Harry" in which Julia Louis-Dreyfus wore little white socks and had sex with her brother-in-law while her blind grandmother was standing by.

But I underestimated his talent. His new film is a veritable anthology of erotic tackiness. He has a hooker, played by Bebe Neuwirth, instruct Judy Davis in the proper technique of the sex that isn't sex, using a banana as a teaching tool. He has an Amazonian model, played by Charlize Theron, explain the pan-orgasmic nature of her exquisitely sensitive body, while Mr. Branagh, playing Mr. Allen, finds meaning in the universe in the sight of her tight little dress. (Ms. Theron showed this clip to Jay Leno, as she sat on the "Tonight Show" couch next to Jimmy Carter.)

There was a time, a million years ago, when Woody Allen's movies had a heart. Now, they have only another organ. They still begin with black-and-white titles against an accompaniment of old jazz — this is supposed to prove their authenticity and their art — and then immediately go sour.

This movie is itself a sex scandal, and as I watched it, I kept being reminded of the President.

Like Mr. Clinton, the film maker is now most famous for a sex scandal with a young woman. Like Mr. Clinton, Mr. Allen feels supremely sorry for himself. Like Mr. Clinton, Mr. Allen just can't figure out how and why this happened to him.

Like I said, it isn't a pretty place.

# The One Reasonable Solution

By Joseph I. Lieberman

WASHINGTON  
In the weeks since the midterm election, some of President Clinton's harshest critics and staunchest defenders have found something they agree on: impeachment or nothing.

There is no third option, they say. Either Congress must vote on whether to remove Mr. Clinton from office or we must move on as if he had done nothing wrong.

This line of argument misreads the Constitution and misconstrues the meaning of censure. If it prevails and the House does not vote for articles of impeachment, the nation would be left with an unclear and unacceptable conclusion to this crisis.

It is important first to clarify what a Congressional resolution of censure would not do. It would not send Mr. Clinton to jail, require him to pay a fine, remove him from office or restrict or alter the powers or duties of the Presidency in any way.

So, contrary to the arguments some have made against censure, a censure resolution would not qualify as a bill of attainder — a law that legislatively determines guilt and imposes punishment — because it would neither be a law nor impose any specific punishment.

Instead, censure would be a collective statement by Congress that while Mr. Clinton's conduct may not be reasonable enough to remove him, it calls for a rebuke. In this way, censure would be similar to the "sense of Congress" resolutions we commonly use to ex-

press our views on matters as diverse as an international child custody dispute and the need for free elections in Gabon — both subjects of such resolutions this year. It would be strange if the Senate passed resolutions on those issues but not on behavior that has threatened the Clinton Presidency and stirred broad and deep emotions among the American people.

Some opponents of censure contend that a Congressional resolution reprimanding the President would differ significantly from other legislative resolutions because in the case of Presidential misconduct the Constitution's impeachment clauses imply that Congress's only options are to impeach or do nothing. Others are concerned about the separation of powers.

Neither argument is convincing. To read the Constitution's authorization to impeach the President for misconduct as ruling out all other actions

## Censuring Clinton would send a clear, strong message.

makes no more sense than saying that Congress's power to declare war rules out taking any other action relating to national security — for instance, a resolution supporting a peacekeeping force in Bosnia or calling for stronger action against Iraq.

As for the separation of powers, it is true that each branch of Government must not intrude on duties and powers constitutionally reserved for the other branches. But a censure resolution

would not intrude because it would have no binding legal effect.

It is for this reason, I suspect, that no one has suggested that the numerous sense-of-Congress resolutions that addressed issues within the province of the other branches were unconstitutional. During the recently adjourned session of Congress, for example, both Houses unanimously condemned the racially motivated slaying of James Byrd, an African-American in Texas, and urged that the case be investigated. The House also adopted at least three separate resolutions expressing views on the President's activities, including one that urged Mr. Clinton not to participate in a formal reception in Tiananmen Square when he visited China.

These were expressions of legislative opinion rather than exertions of authority over the other branches. They did not appropriate Congressional power to determine the guilt or innocence of those accused of killing James Byrd or seek to regulate how Mr. Clinton conducted diplomacy. The same would be true of a resolution condemning Mr. Clinton's misconduct in the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

Still, a censure resolution could have the powerful effect of reaffirming the fundamental values that we Americans hold in common and of restating the importance of those values to our nation's highest office.

The President's sexual misconduct and his deliberate efforts to deceive the American people and our judicial system have had a serious and adverse impact on the nation. Since early September, he has repeatedly apologized for his misconduct and accepted responsibility for its consequences. He has also sought atonement and religious counseling. Since no one can take back behavior that has already occurred, there is

little more we can ask him to do.

Whether Mr. Clinton's misconduct reached the level of an impeachable offense and warrants removing him from office is something on which senators must reserve judgment until the House has finished its inquiry. The Judiciary Committee must review the answers Mr. Clinton has provided to the 81 questions it put to him in writing. Then, the House must vote on the articles of impeachment being drawn up by the committee. If the House chooses not to impeach, as seems likely, then we must censure.

Congress must provide a decisive ending and a strong statement that makes clear to ourselves and posterity that we are a nation that understands the difference between right and wrong, truth and falsehood. We must clearly explain the expectations we have of our leaders, present and future, and serve notice that if the President is guilty of wrongdoing he must suffer, at the least, public embarrassment and reproach.

Those who say that a censure resolution is only a slap on the wrist should bear in mind that only two Presidents in our history have been censured. In this instance, censure would serve to record the nation's opinion of Mr. Clinton's behavior.

Those who call a censure resolution mere words should remember Clement Attlee's tribute to the wartime statements of Winston Churchill: "Words at great moments of history are deeds." We are at a moment of great challenge in our history. We should find words strong enough to meet that challenge and act as deeds.

# NASA's Mission To Nowhere

By Timothy Ferris

SAN FRANCISCO  
The International Space Station, assembly of which begins with a space shuttle mission scheduled for launching on Thursday, is being touted as a giant leap into space and a step toward the stars. In truth, the space station is little more than a Motel 6 in low earth orbit, and it marks a step toward the stars only in the sense that cleaning out your attic gets you closer to the Moon.

The station is bad news for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which has done an admirable job of putting its house in order since the shuttle Challenger exploded in 1988. NASA's biggest problem was the shuttle itself, a complicated, compromised spaceship that has never had much of a mission in life. It costs so much to operate — about half a billion dollars per mission — that NASA officials who had sold it to Congress as a cheap way to launch satellites got tangled in webs of double-talk and self-deception.

Daniel Goldin, the agency's administrator, has since brought the shuttle program under control, freeing up money for smart, lean projects like last year's popular Pathfinder probe of Mars. Now that the agency has recovered its footing, the last thing it needs is to embark on another bloated Mission to Nowhere.

The space station is bad news for science as well. Scientists are almost unanimous in declaring that little can be accomplished in its planned "scientific laboratories" that could not be done in other ways for far less money. Indeed, almost anything could be done for less money than the space station, which has already consumed tens of billions of dollars and is expected to wind up costing anywhere from \$40 billion to \$100 billion. With NASA's annual budget unlikely to swell much beyond its current \$13 billion to \$14 billion level any time soon, scientists have good reason to fear that the space station's bills will be paid by curtailing or canceling the "better, faster, cheaper" unmanned missions that can, among other things, help us learn how planetary atmospheres work and thus assess the dangers that may be posed by global warming here on Earth.

Paradoxically, the space station is also bad news for the manned space effort that it had once been expected to advance.

Manned space exploration is a big, bold business, and its costs, in terms of money and the risks posed to human life, call for commensurately big, bold goals. The space shuttle and the space station were conceived of nearly half a century ago with just such goals in mind: they were to be stepping stones toward manned landings on the Moon and then on Mars. But the Apollo project leapfrogged that strategy by

Timothy Ferris is the author, most recently, of "The Whole Shebang: A State-of-the-Universe(s) Report."



going to the Moon directly, and ever since, the shuttle and the space station have been machines in search of a mission.

The space station we're about to

## If Mars is the goal, why build a space station 200 miles up?

start building will be of almost no use in getting to Mars, the Moon or anywhere else — except into debt. Advocates of the space station say it will help us learn "how to live and work in space," but it's unclear why we need such a capacity except to build the space station itself. If Christopher Columbus had pursued a similar strategy, the dawn of the 16th century would have found him wading up to his

knees at the Spanish seashore, learning to live and work in the sea. The way to get to Mars is to go there, not to spend another couple of decades piddling around in low Earth orbit.

Setting aside all the blather about how the space station will be used to make perfect ball bearings and to produce spinoffs like Tang and jogging bras, one is left with the hard-core consideration that building it promotes international cooperation and sustains the vitality of America's manned space flight capability, along with nourishing the aerospace industries that depend on it. But even if these are desirable aims — and I happen to think they are — they would far better be served by abandoning the space station project and instead mounting an international effort to put a colony on Mars.

Homesteading Mars could have great scientific value — it would, for instance, require that we first determine whether there is life on the red planet, and it would involve real exploration of a world with a dry land area equal to Earth's. If successful, it would make Homo sapiens a two-plan-

et species, presenting to our descendants vastly expanded horizons for discovery.

The initial stages of this grand adventure — several unmanned explorations and an initial manned mission over, say, 20 years — could be accomplished for about the same cost as establishing the space station 200 miles up.

It's all just a question of which kind of future we want. We can go on playing at the seashore, or we can set sail and really get somewhere.

## Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

## In America

BOB HERBERT

# A Wholesale Sellout

Stanley Hill cannot leave soon enough.

Mr. Hill is the \$300,000-a-year head of District Council 37, a coalition of union locals representing 120,000 city workers. Consider those workers unfortunate. Mr. Hill, dazzled by the friendly treatment he received from one Rudolph Giuliani, stripped his workers of their dignity and delivered them like beggars and penitents to their boss, the very same Mr. Giuliani.

If you listen closely you can still hear the Mayor laughing.

"Stanley acted more like the Mayor's agent than the workers' representative," said Charles Ensley, president of a local that represents 14,000 social workers.

He was referring to the contract negotiated nearly three years ago in which Mr. Hill agreed with Mr. Giuliani that the district council's workers could do without raises for a couple of years. He described Mr. Hill during that period as "basically ingratiating himself with the Mayor," and said, "Stanley was more the obsequious, hat-in-hand union leader than the aggressive advocate."

One of the abysmal features of the contract was that it opened the door to the widespread use of woefully underpaid welfare recipients in municipal jobs traditionally held by union workers. But Mr. Hill did not just sell his workers out by negotiating an astonishingly lousy contract. He then closed his eyes and covered his ears (at the very least) as corrupt union leaders rigged the election in which the workers tried to vote down the contract.

When the results came in just about everybody in District Council 37 knew the election had been rigged, except Stanley Hill. He says he knew nothing. Mr. Ensley and others, including James Butler, president of the hospital workers' local, were running around the city telling anyone who would listen that the election had been hijacked.

"It was just crystal clear what had happened with that vote," said a local official who was interviewed on Friday and asked not to be identified. "It was so apparent. Any thinking person would have known

## How blissfully ignorant can a union leader be?

that that was not an honest count."

Among those who refused to credit any talk of a stolen election were Stanley Hill and Rudolph Giuliani. Mr. Giuliani once made a reputation chasing the kinds of crooks and scoundrels that control District Council 37. Now he eagerly climbs into bed with them. The contract ratified by the fraudulent vote set the pattern for agreements with other municipal unions and helped Mr. Giuliani balance the city's budget. And District Council 37 endorsed Mr. Giuliani for re-election in 1997.

It turns out that the fraudulent election is just part of an extensive pattern of corruption in District Council 37. Joseph DeCanio, the president of a local representing highway laborers, pleaded guilty this month to stealing more than \$50,000 in a kickback scheme connected to the donation of Thanksgiving turkeys to union members.

In reporting on the guilty plea, The Times's Steven Greenhouse cited sources who said the Manhattan District Attorney, Robert Morgenthau, is also investigating allegations of kickbacks from caterers, law firms and travel agencies, and charges that officials flew their girlfriends and other nonunion members to labor conventions at union expense.

Mr. Hill, of course, knew nothing of these activities. Last Monday he announced that his two top aides and closest personal friends — Martin Lubin and Mark Shapiro — were resigning because they admitted knowing about the vote fraud. But they scrupulously kept that knowledge to themselves, according to Mr. Hill.

You might wonder how a labor leader could continue to get more than \$300,000 annually in salary and perks while being so out of touch with the real world that he fails to get even minimal raises for his struggling workers for a couple of years, is completely unaware of a fraudulent election that his closest advisers knew about, and has absolutely no knowledge of other instances of corruption that are threatening to wreck his union.

Ignorance doesn't get more blissful than that.

Now the district attorney is all over the union. Indictments are anticipated, and the embarrassed parent of District Council 37, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, is considering placing the council into trusteeship.

Stanley Hill's days are numbered. For city workers, the lower the number the better.



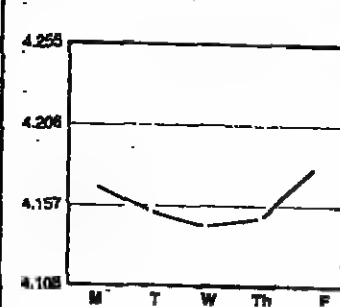




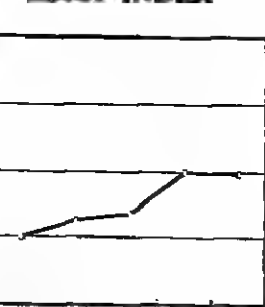
## MARKETS

in brief

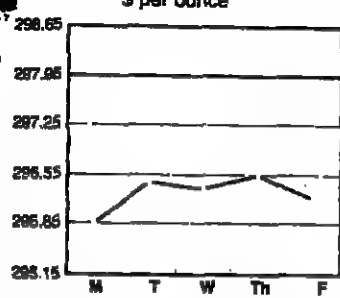
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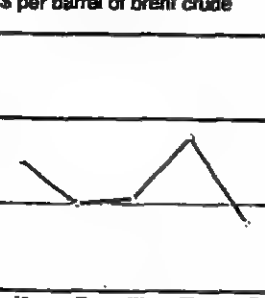
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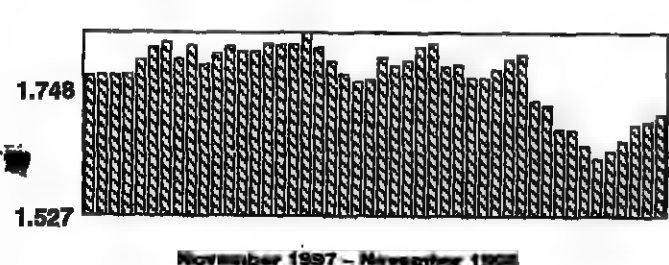
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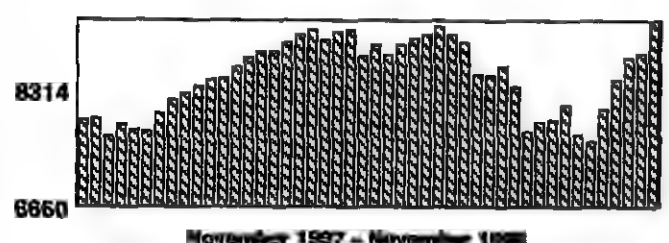
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### DOLLAR / DEUTSCHEMARK



### DOW JONES INDUST. AVG.



#### Jordan to resume Haifa flights

Jordan will resume flights to Haifa twice a week, an official said yesterday. The flights, canceled a year ago due to a shortage of passengers, will be scheduled every Sunday and Wednesday, said Ahmed Quntar, director-general of Royal Wings, the regional arm of Royal Jordanian Airlines. He added that the new flights expect to receive some Arab passengers transiting between Europe and the Arab Gulf states. AP

#### October tourism up 18%

During October, there were 18 percent more tourists from abroad than during the same month of the previous year, the Tourism Ministry announced yesterday. A total of 227,400 visitors entered the country, including 36,100 passengers on cruise ships and 35,300 who entered by land. During the January through October period, some 1,838,000 visitors entered the country, 5 percent fewer than during the same period last year. Haim Shapiro

#### Bomb threat halts Kuwait stock trading

Trading at the Kuwait Stock Exchange was abruptly halted soon after it started Saturday when the bourse received a bomb threat, which turned out to be a hoax, *Al-Wakeel* daily reported yesterday. The newspaper said police evacuated the building and searched it, but found nothing. The threat was made by telephone to the secretary of the exchange's director-general, Hisham al-Obaidi, and the caller was speaking with a Kuwaiti accent, the daily said. Bomb scares are not uncommon in Kuwait, but this was the first ever at the stock exchange. Dealers did not return to the exchange after the security check Saturday, *Al-Wakeel* said. AP

## Third-quarter unemployment level drops 0.8% to 8.4%

By AMOTZ ASA-EL

The national rate of unemployment dropped during the third quarter of the year to 8.4 percent of the workforce from 9.2 percent during the previous quarter, the Central Bureau of Statistics yesterday reported.

Analysts said it was too early to determine whether the decline signals a long-term shift in the trend which prevailed until now, where-

by joblessness, which as recently as three years ago had sunk to a low of 5.9%, this year soared at one point to a high of 9.4%, and seemed well on its way to double-digit levels.

Unemployment this decade reached a high of 11.2% in 1992. In all, the civilian workforce totaled 2.2 million people, 2.4% more than during the corresponding period last year.

Jobless people, whom the CBS

defines as those who both lacked jobs and actively sought ones for the four weeks prior to questioning through employment bureaus, want ads, workplace inquiries or other methods, averaged 205,000 a week.

While that figure translates on the face of it to 8.9% of the workforce, the CBS said that after seasonal adjustments it meant that the rate of unemployment totaled 8.4% of the civilian workforce in

the third quarter, as opposed to 9.2% during the second and 9.1% during the first quarter of the year. Sharp increases in numbers of employees were registered in the health and welfare, education and business services sectors which rose by 9%, 6.7% and 6% respectively.

An average work week during the January-September period totaled 37.1 hours, a 2.4% decline in comparison with the corre-

sponding period in 1997.

A relatively sharp decline in this regard was registered in the education sector, where an average work week shrank 5.3% to its 1996 level of 25 hours per week.

In terms of gender distributions, joblessness during the first three quarters plagued women slightly more than men, as it usually does. Before seasonal adjustments, men were 8.4% unemployed while women were 9% jobless.

## El Al: '98 net profit to exceed \$15m.

By HAIM SHAPIRO

El Al yesterday predicted that its net profit for 1998 will be about \$15 million.

The prediction is based on the company's third quarter results, with a profit of \$37.5 million for the first nine months of the year, compared to a profit of \$21.5 million during the same period of 1997.

According to the company predictions, the fourth quarter will be marked by a loss of about \$25 million, like last year, as a result of the continuing drop in incoming tourism and the fact that relatively few Israelis travel abroad during the months of October, November and December.

In a related development, the company and its pilots announced an agreement ending the go-slow strike which the pilots declared on Friday in protest over what they said was the increasing use of non-company pilots. No flights were affected by the strike.



#### Russia bracing for shortages

A girl and her mother offer passersby sausages and cigarettes in Moscow yesterday. Many Russians resort to retail trading in order to make ends meet. Agriculture Minister Viktor Semenov rejected speculation that Russia is facing a winter of food shortages, as analysts doubted the current government's ability to keep food and clothing markets well supplied. Semenov conceded there would be less meat available, but attributed the prospective decline in supply to the recent drop in the public's purchasing power, in the wake of the ruble's sharp depreciation. (Photo: AP; Text: DPA/Jerusalem Post Staff)

## Foreign investors scold Netanyahu's rate remark

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Foreign investment houses warned yesterday that an attempt to hurt the independence of the Bank of Israel would damage the image of Israel in the eyes of overseas investors.

Commenting on Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's call for a reduction in interest rates, overseas experts said that such a move starkly contrasts with Israel's wish to attract foreign investors. Speaking to reporters in London last week, Netanyahu said that "the critical thing for me is how to lower interest rates. Because I want to move this economy to growth, and to move it to growth you have

got to reduce interest rates. I hope to address that in the government meeting which we will have next week on these sorts of matters."

Governmental intervention in monetary policy is seen by analysts as a major blow to the central bank's independence. "Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel is very well respected by investors," said Judith Kleinman, head of equities at the Tel Aviv office of Warburg Dillon Read. "While investors want to see interest rates come down, they don't want to see that happening prematurely."

She added that if such intervention leads to Frenkel's resignation, it would be interpreted as a weakening of monetary policy which is

never seen positively by foreign investors.

"Despite the fact that it may increase economic growth, it implies that inflation will climb," Kleinman said. "The Israeli central bank is viewed as fairly independent and that is something that foreign investors see as a sign of a mature market."

Richard Gussow of ING Barings said that an attempt to hurt the central bank's independence would weaken Israel's position on world markets.

"I believe that Netanyahu made the comment for domestic consumption, but if he thought that investors in London would be impressed by such a statement he got it

wrong," Gussow said.

He added, however, that he believes that the prime minister will soon announce that he was misinterpreted.

Earlier last week, International Monetary Fund deputy managing director Stanley Fischer told the *Jerusalem Post* that as far as the outside world is concerned, Frenkel is "a bulwark of stability."

If he were to be dismissed - as some of his opponents demand - the action would "signal that the policies he is identified with are being repudiated" and cost Israel dearly in terms of foreign investment and investor confidence, Fischer said.

## Carmel Forge, Pratt and Whitney ink \$150m. deal

By MICKY BLACKBURN

Carmel Forge has signed five-year contracts worth \$180 million with two divisions of Pratt and Whitney, it was announced yesterday. Under the terms of the first agreement Carmel Forge will

manufacture engine parts for Pratt and Whitney's F-100 military engine, which powers the F-15 and F-16 fighters, as well as parts for commercial engines to power the Boeing 747, 767, and 777, and Airbus A300, A310, and A330. The once-troubled company,

which is based in Tirat Carmel, has also extended an existing long-term agreement with Pratt and Whitney Canada to supply engine parts for another five-year period.

In addition it is to develop and manufacture turbine disks, compressors, and turbine cases for

Pratt and Whitney Canada's advanced PW308 engine which is jointly manufactured with Fiat Avio. The engine is to be installed in executive aircraft and in small jets.

"These deals offer us stabilization of the future," said Eli Yaffe,

president of Carmel Forge.

Carmel Forge is owned by Pratt and Whitney and became profitable in 1996 after a reorganization.

In 1997, it had sales of \$57 million. Yaffe said that the deals would ensure the growth of the company in the coming years.

## Marketing a hard sell called Gaza Industrial Estate

By PATRICIA GOLAR

With Gaza International Airport opening for business last week, the Palestinian Authority's next large-scale economic project, to be inaugurated during next month's visit by US President Bill Clinton, is the Gaza Industrial Estate, which abuts the Karni crossing point.

Located on the eastern edge of the Gaza Strip, this \$65 million, state-of-the-art factory complex was conceived and designed as a way to create jobs for Gaza's largely unemployed workforce. Construction is almost complete. Bashir Rayes, marketing manager for the private Palestinian firm in charge of developing the 485,000-sq. meter site, touts the estate's benefits to visiting Israeli industrialists, including cheaper rental rates, easy access to nearby low-cost laborers, a one-stop shop where investors can get all permits necessary to start working within several weeks, and his promise of "no taxes for five years."

However, Rayes's hope of spreading Made-in-Gaza stamps across the world is still little more than a dream. While there are already 13 signed contracts for factories at the site for food processing, agro-business and textiles - two of which are joint Palestinian-Israeli ventures - Israeli and foreign investors have so far stayed away. Some 100 Israeli firms have expressed interest in setting up joint ventures with Palestinian and other Arab businessmen in the zone, but any deals in the making are stuck in a legal mire, according to

Manufacturers' Association foreign desk head Moshe Nahum. Israeli investors are also deterred by the lack of guarantees that production lines would keep rolling when Gaza is placed under closure.

"Business will always be sensitive to security; a terrorist attack will obviously prevent the movement of goods," admitted Yossi Shochat, Deputy Director-General of the Industry and Trade Ministry. "It's not a matter of legality," he added, "it's a matter of creating the atmosphere which will encourage investors. We are doing whatever we can to promote the zone."

Mohammed Shtayeh, managing director of PECAR, the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction, blames Israel for wanting to apply the same measures used at the borders to the zone.

"This is an impossible situation, especially when it comes to trucking goods to the ports," said Shtayeh. "The Israelis want to search the containers at the seaport in Haifa or Ashdod, which means all this packaging will be destroyed. We are telling the Israelis: if someone is exporting something, it won't be machine guns."

On the Israeli side of the Karni crossing, the Airports Authority has built a new terminal, and the crossing is also being renovated to allow four times as many trucks to pass daily. The US has paid for eight sophisticated cargo X-ray machines to help screen trucks without unloading them. Four machines,

weighing 50 tons each, have already been placed at the terminal. When there is no closure, some 28,000 Palestinians pass through the Erez crossing in northern Gaza to get to jobs in Israel. In Gaza itself, at least one out of two work-age people is jobless.

Talks on the creation of the industrial zone proved difficult. Some of the Israeli negotiators were uncomfortable discussing "borders" before the completion of final-status agreements. On the Palestinian side, critics accused the PA of introducing "a service for the Israeli economy" by effectively reducing cross-border labor traffic.

Finally the PA approached the Palestine Development and Investment Company (PADICO), the largest Palestinian private-sector firm. But its board of directors balked after a feasibility study showed that investment yields would not exceed 7%. Ultimately, when the World Bank agreed to finance a pilot program on PA territory, PADICO took on the project. To date the project has cost \$65m: \$40m put up by PADICO and \$25m by the donor countries, including the US, World Bank, and EU. The donors provided telecommunications, water, and solid waste management.

"We realized the sensitivity about Gaza, both here and internationally," says Amin Haddad, director of public relations for PADICO, whose subsidiary, the Palestine Industrial Estate Development and Management Company (PIEDCO), is developing and marketing the site. "People hear 'Gaza' and think

infatada," explains Haddad. "We have so many impediments to deal with, but we tried to counterbalance them by well-designed services, we brought in the best consultants on industrial zones in the world. We said 'We want the friendliest environment possible. We know our image is bad. We want to change this.'"

Among the services offered by PIEDCO is handling all bureaucratic procedures, without the investor dealing directly with the PA. The company also recruits the labor from Gaza, and runs training centers for workers.

One Israeli championing the zone is Mandy Barak, director of the international trade division of the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce. Last spring he brought 30 federation members to Gaza to discuss investments in Karni. They represented the leading companies in Israel seeking to invest in the zone, he recalled.

"The only question they raised was: 'How can you secure our investments?' They weren't concerned about security problems, which can be solved through negotiations, but about the lack of a legislative framework that would secure their investments on the Palestinian side, he says.

"The authority's greatest mistake ever in its short history was discarding the prevailing Israeli legal system, or not adopting an existing developed framework, like the Jordanian," says Ezra Sadan, former director-general of the Treasury and now a private economic consultant.

Sadan, who was a consultant for

industrial zones in Latin America, says that Israeli businessmen refuse to give up the right to arbitrate, or to deal with unions, outside the Israeli legal framework. "This is particularly so when the alternative is not at all clear - we don't know what the substitute is," he says. "In the Third World the success of these zones always depends on the system, and frankly I can't take the risk of selling someone the idea of investing in Gaza."

PADICO official Haddad says he's "tired of hearing the issue of the legal framework, as if there is none that exists. There is a defined legal framework. There is an established code regarding investment in the industrial estate as of a year ago."

Haddad believes the resistance of Israeli manufacturers to committing themselves to opening plants in the Gaza industrial park has nothing to do with the legal framework or security. "Our objective is to make money. Your business is our business," Haddad tells Israelis. "If you don't come and invest with us we won't have business."

Still, there are other objective impediments. Investors want risk insurance, for example. Israel has secured \$55m for an insurance fund, but this only covers political risks, such as the Palestinians suddenly cutting off relations, which leaves closure-related damages untreated.

Then there is the problem of customs regulations in the EU. Europe's "rules of origin" specify that in order to benefit from free-trade agreements, a product must be manufactured in one country with raw materials from that country. The

EU has separate tariff agreements with Israel and with the PA; the latter specifying that it is "manufactured in the West Bank or Gaza." According to the Manufacturers' Association's Nahum, this is a serious dilemma for would-be investors. When you have two producers you break the EU's rule of origin agreement, he says.

The US, unlike the EU, has granted the same tariff rights to both sides, without regard to where items are produced. The Manufacturers' Association has been involved in negotiations between Israel and the EU, but Nahum concedes that the Europeans are concerned about establishing a precedent for other territories that trade with the EU.

Chamber of Commerce's Barak is less pessimistic. "If Israel and the PA sign an agreement that we constitute a free-trade area and a common customs union, the Europeans won't have any other choice but to recognize this as one origin, as the US already does."

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# No. 1 Vols gunning for Fiesta Bowl

## NCAA FOOTBALL

NEW YORK (AP) — Tennessee moved one step closer to a shot at the national title.

Tee Martin threw for a touchdown and ran for another as the top-ranked Volunteers routed Vanderbilt 41-0 Saturday.

If Tennessee (11-0, 8-0 Southeastern Conference) beats Mississippi State in the SEC title game next weekend, the Vols will probably get to play for the national championship in the Fiesta Bowl.

The Vols are currently No. 1 in the Bowl Championship Series rankings, ahead of two other undefeated teams, UCLA and Kansas State. The top two teams in the BCS standings will meet in the Fiesta Bowl on Jan. 4.

UCLA and Kansas State each have a game left next Saturday. The Bruins play at No. 19 Miami, while Kansas State meets No. 6 Texas A&M for the Big 12 championship in St. Louis.

Tennessee intercepted four passes, recovered two fumbles and converted those turnovers into 24 points to beat Vanderbilt (2-9, 1-7) for the 16th straight time.

USC 10, No. 9 Notre Dame 0 Chad Morton rushed for 100 of his 128 yards in the second half, and the host USC defense was at its best against the Irish.

The game was scoreless until freshman quarterback Carson Palmer scored the first touchdown of his career on a 2-yard bootleg, capping a 64-yard, five-play drive on USC's second possession of the third quarter. Adam Abrams kicked a 23-yard field goal 3:18 later to complete the scoring.

The win was the third straight for USC (8-4) over Notre Dame (9-2) after the Irish went 12-0-1 against the Trojans from 1983-95. It was the first time USC (8-4) has blanked Notre Dame since winning a 25-0 decision en route to the national championship in 1962.

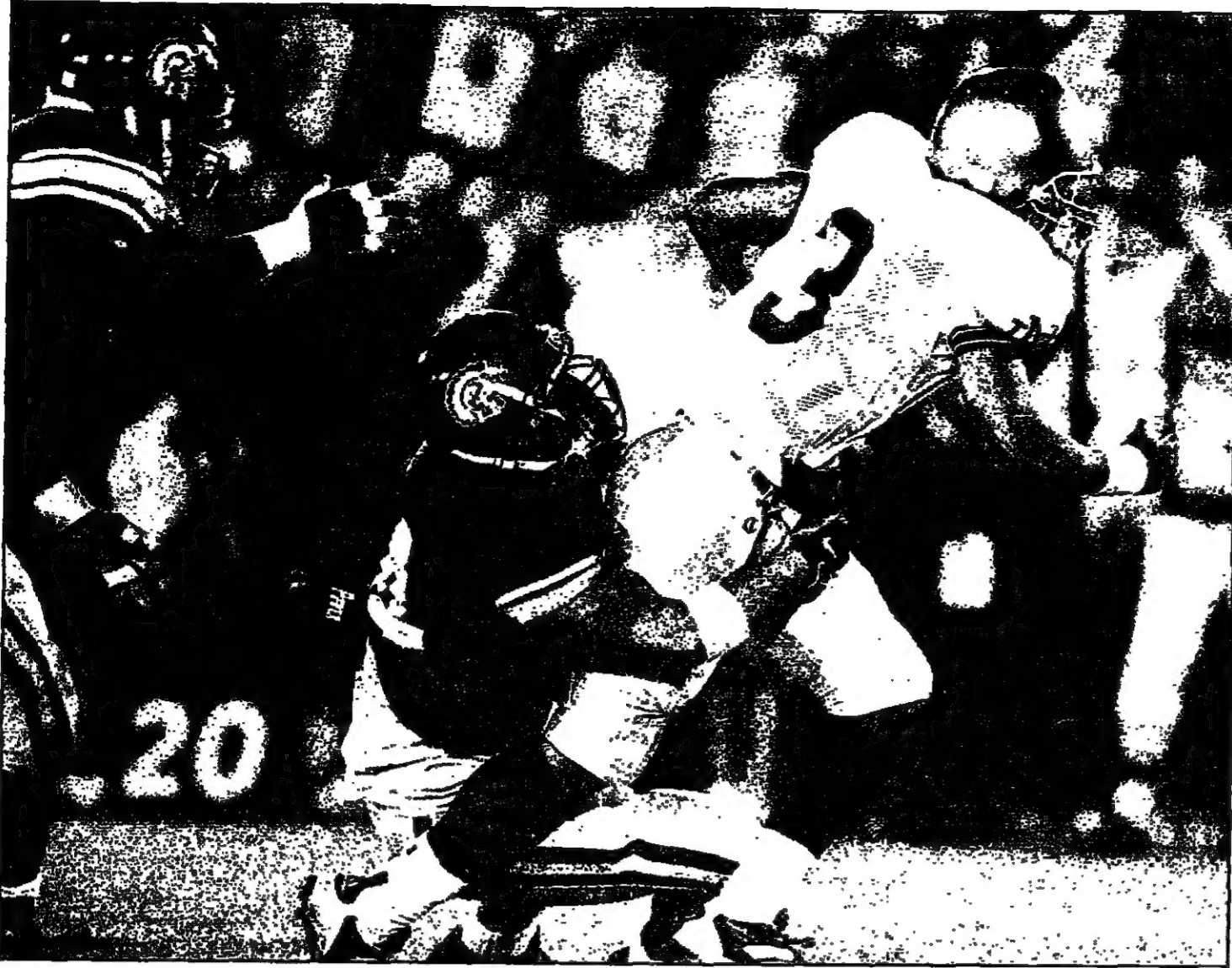
Notre Dame, played without injured quarterback Jarious Jackson.

No. 15 Michigan 48

Michigan 17

Anthony Thomas ran for 104 yards and three scores in the first half, and Tom Brady threw two touchdowns passes to Tai Streets — also in opening 30 minutes — as Michigan routed Iowa.

The Wolverines (9-3) kept their hopes of landing a good bowl berth intact, and extended the Rainbows' losing streak to 18 games, currently the longest in the



WHAT A DRAG — Notre Dame QB Arnez Battle (3) struggles to the USC two-yard line before being stopped by USC's Zeke Moreno. Battle fumbled on the play and the Trojans recovered to keep the Irish scoreless in their 10-0 win.

nation. Hawaii's 0-12 record also matches college football's worst single-season mark, by Colorado State in 1981.

Thomas finished with 13 carries for 183 yards. Brady, replaced by freshman Drew Henson late in the first half, completed 9-of-10 passes for 142 yards.

No. 17 Georgia Tech 21

No. 12 Georgia 19

At Athens, Georgia, Brad Chambers kicked a 35-yard field goal with two seconds remaining as Georgia Tech (9-2) ended a seven-year losing streak against Georgia (8-3).

The Yellow Jackets, co-champions of the Atlantic Coast Conference, had not beaten Georgia since 1990, losing the last three years.

No. 16 Virginia 36

No. 20 Virginia Tech 32

At Blacksburg, Va., Ahmad

Hawkins caught a 47-yard TD pass from Aaron Brooks with 2:01 remaining to cap a big second-half comeback by Virginia.

The Cavaliers, who overcame a 29-7 halftime deficit, marched 93 yards in six plays for the winner. No. 21 Syracuse 66

No. 19 Miami 13

Donovan McNabb ran for three touchdowns and threw for two as the host Orangemen won the Big East title and earned a berth in the Bowl Championship Series.

Syracuse (8-3, 6-1), which will play in the Orange Bowl or Sugar Bowl, scored the most points against Miami (7-3, 5-2) since the Hurricanes lost to the Orangemen 56-16 in 1970.

No. 23 Penn St. 51

Michigan 31

Eric McCoo rushed for 306 yards, and David Macklin and Anthony King returned intercep-

tions for touchdowns as host Penn State strengthened its case for an eighth straight January 1 bowl.

McCoo also scored a TD and Travis Forney kicked a career-high five field goals for the Lions (8-3, 5-3 Big Ten), who have a chance

to go to the Outback Bowl after finishing their home schedule unbeaten.

Michigan State (6-6, 4-4) didn't qualify for a bowl despite victories over Notre Dame and then-No. 1 Ohio State.

## College Football Top 25

How the top 25 teams in The AP's college football poll fared this week:  
1. Tennessee (11-0) beat Vanderbilt 41-0.  
2. Kansas State (11-0) did not play. Next vs. No. 6 Texas A&M, Saturday, Dec. 5.  
3. UCLA (10-0) did not play.  
4. Florida State (11-1) did not play.  
5. Ohio State (10-1) did not play.  
6. Texas A&M (10-2) lost to Texas 26-24, Friday.  
7. Arizona (11-1) beat Arizona State 50-42, Friday.  
8. Florida (9-2) did not play.  
9. Notre Dame (9-2) lost to Southern California 10-0, Saturday.  
10. Wisconsin (10-1) did not play.  
11. Tulane (11-0) beat Louisiana Tech 63-30, Thursday.  
12. Georgia (8-3) lost to No. 17 Georgia Tech 21-19, Saturday.  
13. Arkansas (9-2) beat Louisiana State 28-6, Thursday.

41-14, Friday.  
14. Nebraska (9-3) beat Colorado 16-14, Friday.  
15. Michigan (9-3) beat Hawaii 48-17.  
16. Virginia (9-2) beat No. 20 Virginia Tech 36-32, Saturday.  
17. Georgia Tech (9-2) beat No. 12 Georgia 21-19, Saturday.  
18. Air Force (10-1) did not play.  
19. Miami (7-3) lost to No. 21 Syracuse 66-13, Saturday.  
20. Virginia Tech (9-3) lost to No. 16 Virginia 36-32, Saturday.  
21. Syracuse (8-3) beat No. 19 Miami 66-13, Saturday.  
22. Oregon (8-3) did not play. Next: Penn State (8-3) beat Michigan State 51-26, Saturday.  
23. Penn State (8-3) beat Michigan State 51-26, Saturday.  
24. Missouri (7-4) did not play.  
25. Mississippi State (8-3) beat Mississippi 28-6, Thursday.

# No escaping Tyson

## Former champ waiting for Holyfield-Lewis winner

On March 13, 1999, the hand of either Evander Holyfield or Lennox Lewis will be raised in triumph in Madison Square Garden after their heavyweight unification title fight. Finally the boxing world will have an undisputed heavyweight champion.

But don't assume that will put an end to the disputes.

As long as the shadow of Mike Tyson falls across the division, as long as he lurks in the background, whoever reigns as champion will have to deal with him. And that will surely mean controversy, as it always does with Tyson.

If Holyfield beats Lewis, as many expect, Holyfield's next logical move should be retirement. He would have realized every goal he set, twice regained the heavyweight crown, twice beaten the once-unbeatable Tyson and made enough money to provide for not only himself and his family, but the next generation of Holyfields as well.

But he won't walk away. Not when somebody waves \$50 million in his face.

Remember the revulsion after Tyson bit Holyfield's ears in their title rematch in 1997? Remember how people swore they would never again reach into their wallets to watch Tyson fight? Forget it.

Time has dulled the anger toward Tyson and sharpened the anticipation. His Jan. 16 fight against Francois Botha, the type of opponent who would have elicited little interest in the past, will draw worldwide attention.

If Holyfield wins in March and Tyson wins his first two comeback fights, there will be enough interest generated in Holyfield-Tyson III to make it a \$100m fight.

Holyfield, confident his style will always prevail over Tyson's, will see a third fight as the grand finale to his career.

Not to mention the biggest payday for any fighter in history.

If Lewis should beat Holyfield, a Tyson match would be even more lucrative for him than a rematch with Holyfield.

Either way, Tyson figures to be back in the heavyweight title picture by next June. Despite all the assurances of mental stability

from those who put Tyson through an intensive mental examination as part of the process required to get back his boxing license, the two-time former heavyweight champion remains a dormant volcano who could become active and destructive at any moment.

One source in the Tyson camp says there is a question whether Tyson will be able to hold himself together long enough, to even have two fights.

Yes, Tyson has severed his ties with promoter Don King and co-managers John Horne and Rury Holloway. Yes, with attorney John Branca, promoter Dan Goossen and manager Shelly Finkel, Tyson has a team capable of putting him back on a track toward financial stability and ring glory.

But ultimately, the only one who can cure Tyson of what has so long troubled him is Tyson himself.

It wasn't King who ordered Tyson to bite Holyfield's ears. It wasn't Horne or Holloway who got Tyson into trouble in Maryland, where he allegedly attacked two men after a minor car accident. Tyson can no longer claim he is a victim of crooked handlers who are robbing him.

He can no longer say that the boxing world is denying him the chance to make a living.

He has his license back, and he has people who have made all the right moves to get his finances in order and his boxing skills back to a world-class level. He has been there before and couldn't handle the success. Now, he has another chance.

But without question, this is his last chance.

(Los Angeles Times)

# Last-second dunk downs Duke

NEW YORK (AP) — Melvin Levent's dunk with one second left powered Cincinnati past No. 1 Duke in the Great Alaska Shootout championship game in Anchorage on Saturday.

Duke (5-1) threw a football pass on the inbound play that Elton Brand tipped to William Avery, who made what would have been the game-winning basket. But officials ruled that Avery did not get the shot off in time.

No. 15 Cincinnati (4-0) worked a full-court play to perfection on its final possession. Ryan Fletcher hit Kenyon Martin with a long pass, and Levent took Martin's pass in stride as he raced toward the basket.

Levent led the Bearcats with 25 points, 14 in the second half. Pete Micek added 17, and Alvin Mitchell had 14. Avery, selected the tournament's outstanding player, scored 30 points, 19 in the final 20 minutes.

No. 5 Maryland 87

Pittsburgh 52

Laron Profit scored 23 points and Steve Francis added 19 as Maryland won the Puerto Rico Shootout.

The Terrapins (7-0) have won their first seven games by an average of 37 points.

Vontaeo Cummings scored 19 points for Pittsburgh (6-1), which beat No. 13 Xavier and No. 4 Kentucky in its first two games of the tournament.

No. 7 Michigan St. 90

W. Michigan 66

Morris Peterson scored 21 points as host Michigan State routed Western Michigan in the championship game of the Spartan Classic.

Andre Hutson added 15 points for Michigan State (4-1). Kylo Jones led Western Michigan (2-2) with 28 points.

No. 11 Arizona 78

BYU 74 (OT)

Michael Wright scored 21 points and A.J. Brummett added 17 points and 13 rebounds as Arizona won on the road.

The Wildcats (3-0) nearly suffered a shocking upset at the hands of the Cougars (1-3), who suffered a 21-point blowout loss to Auburn

in their last game and are just a year removed from a one-win season. BYU's Jason Terry had 19 points.

No. 12 Oklahoma

St. 79, TCU 74

Adrian Peterson's 3-pointer from the top of the key with 1:02 left gave host Oklahoma State

the lead for good.

Desmond Mason had 26 points and 13 rebounds for the Cowboys (4-0), who extended their non-conference home winning streak to 80 games. Lee Nailon scored 30 points for TCU (5-2), 24 in the second half.

No. 20 New Mexico 93

Northeastern 61

Host New Mexico scored the first 14 points, and Kevin Henry hit six 3-pointers in the first half in the championship game of the Lobo Classic. Henry led New Mexico (4-0) with 20 points, and Damion Walker added 19. Marcus Blossom scored 15 points for the Huskies (2-2).

Todd MacCulloch scored 18 points and Dean Lutton added 13 as Washington won the Big Island Invitational in Hilo, Hawaii.

No. 16 Washington 69

Saint Louis 60

Todd MacCulloch scored 18 points and Dean Lutton added 13 as Washington won the Big Island Invitational in Hilo, Hawaii.

College Basketball Top 25

How the top 25 teams in The AP's college basketball poll fared Saturday:

1. Duke (5-1) lost to No. 15 Cincinnati 77-75.

2. Connecticut (4-0) did not play.

3. Stanford (4-1) did not play.

4. Kentucky (5-1) beat No. 10 UCLA 86-62.

5. Maryland (7-0) beat Pittsburgh 87-52.

6. Temple (4-1) did not play.

7. Michigan State (4-1) beat Western Michigan 90-66.

8. Kansas (4-0) did not play.

9. North Carolina (9-0) did not play.

10. UCLA (2-2) lost to No. 4 Kentucky 98-62.

11. Arizona (3-0) beat Brigham Young 78-74.

12. Oklahoma State (4-0) beat Texas Christian 79-74.

13. Xavier (4-2) lost to San Francisco 82-59.

14. Purdue (5-1) did not play.

15. Cincinnati (4-0) beat No. 1 Duke 77-75.

16. Washington (3-0) beat Saint Louis 69-60.

17. Indiana (6-1) did not play.

18. Utah (3-2) did not play.

19. Syracuse (5-0) did not play.

20. New Mexico (4-0) beat Northeastern 93-61.

21. Arkansas (5-1) beat Northeast Louisiana 92-71.

22. Clemson (5-1) did not play.

23. St. John's (3-2) did not play.

24. Miami, Ohio (4-0) did not play.

25. Tennessee (3-2) did not play.

# Panthers chase Hasek in 6-2 win over Sabres

SUNRISE, Fla. (AP) — Rob Niedermayer scored twice and Ray Whitney added a goal and three assists as the Florida Panthers chased two-time NHL MVP Dominik Hasek on the way to routing the Buffalo Sabres.

Scott Mellanby and Robert Svehla each had a goal and two assists as the Panthers tallied their highest output since a 5-5 tie November 19 at Boston. Radek Dvorak added a shorthanded goal.

Hasek, the two-time reigning Hart Trophy winner, was yanked by Buffalo coach Lindy Ruff with the Sabres trailing 2-1 after the first period. He made 15 of 17 saves, including several key stops as the Panthers peppered him from the opening seconds.

Hurricanes 3, Islanders 1 Trevor Kidd stopped 21 shots and Carolina scored three times within a 4:19 span of the second period as the Hurricanes grabbed a road win.

Kevin Dincen, Sami Kapanen and Keith Primeau scored for Carolina, which evened its record at 10-10-3.

Sergei Nemchinov scored for New York, which lost for the fifth time in seven games. Islanders goaltender Tommy Salo stopped 20 shots.

Maple Leafs 3

Senators 2 (OT)

Derek King's second goal of the game, on a power play 42 seconds into overtime, gave Toronto a

comeback victory and extended their home winning streak to six games.

Steve Thomas had the other goal for Toronto, which halted the Senators' winning streak at four games.

Alexei Yashin and Daniel Alfredsson scored for Ottawa, which was 8-1-1 when leading after the first period.

Penguins 4, Canadiens 3

Martin Straka scored three goals, leading Pittsburgh to a win on the road.

Straka scored one of his goals during a two-goal burst within 15 seconds of the second period that snapped a 1-1 tie. Straka also had a goal earlier in the second period and one in the third to give him 13, placing him among the top five in league goal scoring.

Blues 4, Capitals 2

Jamie McLennan stopped 32 shots and Pierre Turgeon scored the game-winning goal as St. Louis won at home.

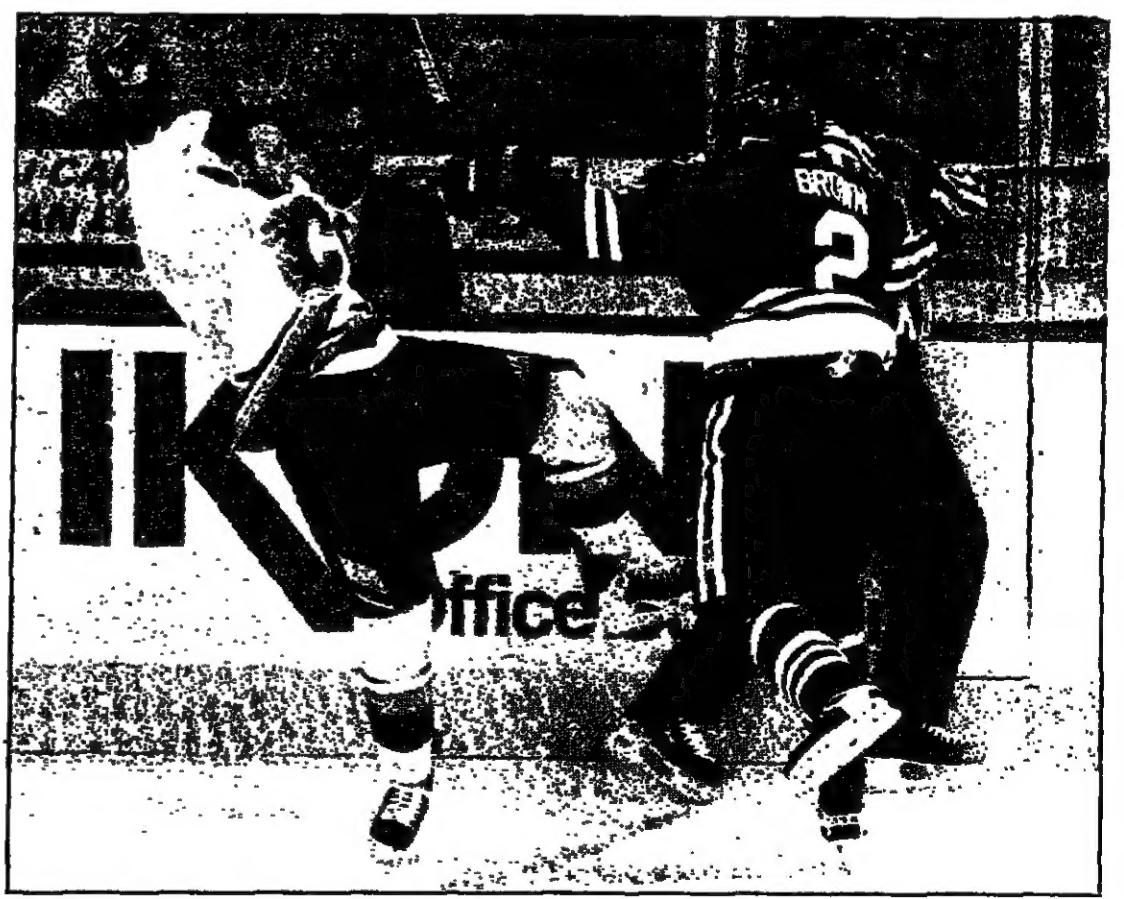
McLennan, playing in his 100th NHL game, is 4-3-0 since taking over for Grant Fuhr, who suffered a groin injury on November 7.

Turgeon gave the Blues a 3-1 lead when he scored on a power play at 6:28 of the third period. Turgeon scored after taking a pass from behind the goal by Pavel Demitra.

Devils 3, Avalanche 2

Martin Brodeur stopped 24 shots and Patrik Elias scored his first goal in 16 games and had an assist as visiting New Jersey won their third straight over the Avalanche.

Brodeur, 10-1-3 lifetime against the Colorado-Quebec franchise,



REMEMBER — Flames' Steve Dubinsky (1), who previously played for the Blackhawks, is hit by Chicago's Brad Brown in first-period action. Calgary won, 5-4.

made several spectacular saves in continuing his mastery.

Flames 5, Blackhawks 4

Andrew Cassels scored two goals, including the game winner 1:47 apart in the second period, as

Calgary won at home.

It was 3-3 after one period, and goals by Cassels at 8:08 and 9:55 of the second put the Flames ahead to stay, snapping their five-game losing streak.

Coyotes 4, Kings 0

Daniel Briere and Juha Ylonen broke open a scoreless duel with goals 57 seconds apart in the second period as Phoenix notched a

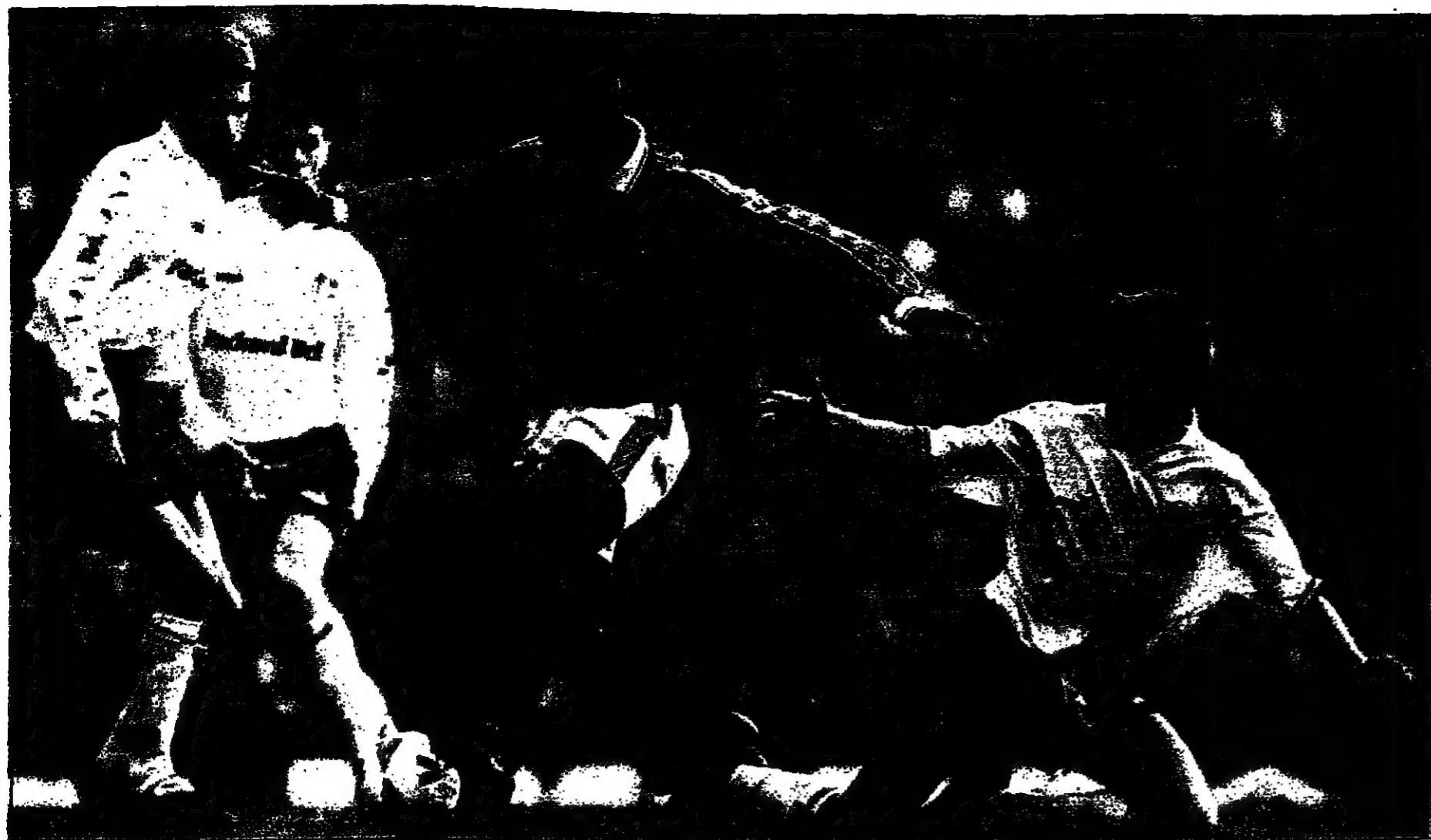
road win to extend its unbeaten streak to a club-record 14 games and its winning streak to eight.

The Coyotes marked the occasion of Jim Schoenfeld's 100th game as their coach with their third shutout of the season.

Nikolai Khabibulin stopped 20 shots to earn his 15th career shutout.

EASTERN CONFERENCE							WESTERN CONFERENCE						
Atlantic Division							Central Division						
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA		W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
New Jersey	13	7	1	27	54	49	Detroit	12	8	0	24	69	49
Pittsburgh	10	6	5	25	63	55	St. Louis	9	6	5	23	57	47
Philadelphia	10	7	4	24	56	46	Nashville	9	11	1	19	52	63
N.Y. Islanders	10	10	0	20	59	64	Chicago	5	14	3	13	45	80
N.Y. Rangers	5	9	7	17	51	58							
Northeast Division							Northwest Division						
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA		W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Toronto	13	9	2	28	74	68	Edmonton	12	8	1	25	66	52
Boston	10	7	5	25	60	43	Vancouver	9	12	1	19	64	65
Ottawa	10	7	3	23	61	50	Colorado	8	11	2	18	53	62
Buffalo	9	5	4	22	51	37	Calgary	8	13	2	18	63	70
Montreal	7	12	1	16	49	64							
Southeast Division							Pacific Division						
	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA		W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Florida	10	10	3	23	59	56	Phoenix	14	2	2	30	53	26
Florida	8	8	5	21	50	55	Dallas	12	4	3	27	53	39
Florida	7	11	3	17	49	62	Anaheim	8	9	4	20	49	50
San Jose	6	13	3	14	45	77	Los Angeles	6	13	3	15	49	63
San Jose	6	13	2	14	45	62	San Jose	5	10	5	15	48	52





FILE DRIVING - Manchester United striker Andy Cole (c) runs past Leeds defenders.

## Man Utd beat Leeds to take 2nd place

LONDON (AP) - Manchester United got the winning goal in the 77th minute from Nicky Butt yesterday at Old Trafford to beat Leeds 3-2 and move back into second place a point behind leaders Aston Villa.

Defending league and FA Cup champion Arsenal salvaged a 1-1 draw with Middlesbrough on a goal in the 89th by

Nicolas Anelka after Brian Deane had given Middlesbrough a lead in the sixth minute.

Aston Villa leads with 29 points followed by Manchester United (28). Villa played a 2-2 draw Saturday at Nottingham Forest. West Ham holds third place (26) followed by Arsenal (25), Chelsea (24),

Middlesbrough (23) and Leeds (23).

In Glasgow, Scotland, league-leading Rangers defeated St. Johnstone 2-1 Sunday on goals by Stephane Guivarc'h (6th) and Jorg Albertz (37th) to win the League Cup. Nick Dasovic (8th) scored for St. Johnstone.

In Manchester United's win, Jimmy

Floyd Hasselbaink gave Leeds a 1-0 edge in the 29th. But Manchester United went up 2-1 on goals by Ole Gunnar Solskjaer and Roy Keane. Harry Kewell leveled for Leeds in the 52nd, setting the stage for Butts' winner.

In a late game, it was Liverpool 2, Blackburn 0.

## South Africa set 164 to win

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) - West Indies debutant Ridley Jacobs (42) and vice-captain Carl Hooper (34) offered the only significant opposition as Shaun Pollock bowled South Africa to a winning position in the first Test yesterday.

But with the wicket presenting problems, South Africa will need to bat well to clinch victory.

Pollock, now the fourth fastest player to reach 1,000 runs and 100 wickets in Test cricket history, bagged four for 49 in the second innings as the tourists subsided to 174 all out, leaving the home side 164 for victory with one day to play.

Pollock took advantage of the ever-increasing uneven bounce to take two wickets in the morning session before wrapping up the West Indies tail just after tea.

Unfortunately, a crowd of 18,000 were unable to watch their side set

off in pursuit of the target after a thunderstorm saturated the playing surface and 23 overs were lost. Jacobs and Hooper had revived West Indies when they put on 68 for the sixth wicket before they were both dismissed in the final six balls before tea.

Scoreboard: Stumps between South Africa and West Indies yesterday, the fourth day of the Test at Wanderers Stadium, Johannesburg.

West Indies First Innings 261  
South Africa First Innings 258  
West Indies Second Innings 42  
South Africa Second Innings 174  
Clayton Lambert c Bouvier b Symcox 30  
Philo Wallace b Pollock 7  
Brian Lara b b Donald 14  
Shivnarine Chanderpaul b b Pollock 12  
Stuart Williams c Kallis b Tetrugge 12  
Ridley Jacobs c Tetrugge b Symcox 42  
Carl Hooper b b Kallis 34  
Rawl Lewis b b Pollock 11  
Shawn Pollock 20-4-44-4, David Tetrugge 16-5-23-1, Jacques Kallis 14-6-26-1, Pat Symcox 16-9-43-3  
TOTAL  
Fall of wickets: 1-24, 2-33, 3-38, 4-53, 5-60, 6-148, 7-148, 8-170, 9-170, 10-170  
South Africa: Bowling: Allan Donald 15-6-26-1, Shaun Pollock 20-4-44-4, David Tetrugge 16-5-23-1, Jacques Kallis 14-6-26-1, Pat Symcox 16-9-43-3

## Yankees outdo Bosox again

By PETER SCHMUCK

The Boston Red Sox sold Babe Ruth to the New York Yankees in 1919 and they have been trying to catch up ever since. It apparently won't happen in 1999.

General manager Dan Duquette tried to steal some of the Yankees' recent thunder by extending a huge contract offer to center fielder Bernie Williams, but the Red Sox got whipsawed, when—in the space of one hour—the Yankees trumped Boston's seven-year offer to Williams and the Anaheim Angels signed first baseman Mo Vaughn.

The second-best team in the American League East is out its most productive offensive player, and its options in the free-agent market have diminished to the point where the only hope of sustaining a strong offensive attack may be a late run at Rafael Palmeiro. "We've always liked him," Duquette told the *Boston Globe*.

The Red Sox have been interest-

ed in Palmeiro all along, but they were preoccupied with the Williams negotiations. What a coup it would have been to swipe him from the Yankees in the wake of their record-breaking season, but all they did was drive up the price for agent Scott Boras, who got Williams an \$87.5 million guarantee.

Duquette had hoped that the acquisition of Williams would divert attention from Vaughn's anticipated departure, but the timing of the two announcements couldn't have been worse for the Red Sox. Next season, while Clemens goes after his third consecutive Cy Young Award for the Blue Jays, Vaughn may be flitting with 50 home runs in Anaheim and Duquette may again be under fire in Boston.

Speculation already has surfaced that the Red Sox will push to acquire center fielder Jim Edmonds from the Angels, who now have an outfield surplus because Vaughn's arrival allows manager Terry Collins to move rising star Darin Erstad to center field.

Edmonds is all but certain to be traded, but there will be plenty of competition for his services. The Baltimore Orioles, who would like to move Brady Anderson to left, would have to be interested. So, presumably, would every other club that expressed an interest in Williams.

It might come down to a bidding war for Palmeiro, though Duquette seemed troubled by the

notion that it might take a five-year deal to wrest the 34-year-old first baseman from the Orioles.

The Red Sox probably would have to make a serious overbid to convince Palmeiro to choose Boston over Baltimore, but that isn't out of the question. Duquette was waving around \$87m for Williams, so he probably would have no trouble meeting the five-year, \$50m price that Palmeiro set as his target last spring.

**Molitor's future**  
Future Hall of Famer Paul Molitor reportedly has been offered a deal with the Toronto Blue Jays that would make him the club's full-time designated hitter next year and create a front office position for him upon his retirement.

Trouble is, he would almost certainly be viewed as the club's manager-in-waiting, which would create an uncomfortable situation for embattled manager Tim Lincecum, who recently had to make a public apology for falsely telling players that he had served in Vietnam.

**O's woo Brown**  
The Orioles hope to convince free agent pitching star Kevin Brown to come back to Baltimore, but it seems far more likely that he'll sign with either the Padres or the Rockies.

Brown already has received a multi-year offer of \$11m per year from the Padres, which he helped get to the World Series last season. (The Baltimore Sun)

## Corretja beats Moya to win ATP final

HANOVER (AP) - Alex Corretja rallied from a two-set deficit and beat fellow Spaniard Carlos Moya in five sets yesterday to capture the ATP Tour World Championship, his first major title.

In the first all-Spanish final in the history of the season-ending championship, Corretja outlasted his good friend 3-6, 3-6, 7-5, 6-3, 7-5 to avenge his loss to Moya in the final of the French Open.

The four-hour victory was worth \$1.36m and propelled Corretja three places up to No. 3 in the final 1998 computer rankings, a career high.

Moya will finish the year ranked fifth. He won two titles in 1998.

Corretja's victory was the first Spanish triumph in the event since Manuel Orantes won what was then called the Masters in 1976 in Houston, Texas.

Moya, 22, opened the match with a break of serve and did it again to win the first set, smashing a volley on his fourth set point.

Another break of serve in the second game was enough for Moya to win the first set.

Corretja, 24, finally gained a break of his own when he hit a deep-angled forehand winner to take a 3-1 lead in the third.

His advantage did not last long, however, ending in a double-fault in the very next game.

Moya saved another break point with an ace to hold for 4-4.

Corretja, who had upset top-ranked Pete Sampras in the semifinals, was in trouble again in the 11th game, but hit a sizzling backhand passing shot down the line to hold serve. In the next game, Moya's forehand sailed into the net, giving Corretja the set.

A double-fault by Moya gave Corretja a 5-3 lead and he served

out the fourth set.

Corretja fell down 1-3 in the fifth, but broke right back. A forehand by Moya that sailed long gave Corretja another break, a 5-4 lead and a chance to serve out the match. He wasted one match point and then dropped his serve.

But Moya could not hold serve either and Corretja finally ended the drama on his second match point in the next game.

It was Corretja's first win over Moya in four matches this year.

Moya beat Corretja in the quarterfinals of the Monte Carlo tournament, before winning the major clay court event at the US Open. Moya also beat Corretja before losing in the semifinals.

Coming into this elite tournament that brings together the top eight players of the year, Moya had lost all five of his indoor matches of the year. He had not reached a final on any other surface than clay.

But he seems to thrive in the event, having reached the semifinals in his first appearance last year. He beat big-serving Tim Henman in Saturday's semifinals.

Corretja has a better indoor record, having won the tournament in Lyon, France in October, becoming the first Spanish player to win an indoor title since that Orantes victory in the 1976 Masters.

### Final top 10 rankings for 1998

1. Pete Sampras, US
2. Marcelo Rios, Chile
3. Alex Corretja, Spain
4. Patrick Rafter, Australia
5. Carlos Moya, Spain
6. Andre Agassi, US
7. Tim Henman, Britain
8. Karol Kucera, Slovakia
9. Greg Rusedski, Britain
10. Richard Krajicek, Netherlands



MUCHAS GRACIAS - Alex Corretja celebrates after winning the ATP championships yesterday. (Reuters)

## Ivanisevic here for coaching visit

By HEATHER CHART

The Croatian ace machine, Goran Ivanisevic, arrived in Israel last night for a three-day coaching visit.

Ivanisevic, 27 years old and currently ranked 12th in the world, will meet with local coaches to discuss training methods and the nurturing of potential talent. Eighty coaches will be present tomorrow morning at a workshop in Jerusalem to glean the trade secrets from this year's Wimbledon finalist.

Ivanisevic will hold short exhibition matches with the best players in the 12-14 age group at the capital's Israel Tennis Center, starting at 3 pm. Amos Mansdorf and Shlomo Glickstein will attend.

Ivanisevic was invited as the guest of Jerusalem's Deputy Mayor Yigal Abedi.

## Hap Nahariya keep rugby streak alive

Local rugby champions Hapoel Netanya kept their unbeaten record at the weekend when they beat Rishon LeZion 33-8 at the Sportek. Rishon held their stronger opponents to a 7-3 margin at half-time but could not keep up the fight after the intermission.

Fly-half Darryl Pincus scored 18 points for the winners. The other three tries were scored by prop Adam Levitt, No.8 Avital Eliasov

and scrum-half James Whitmore. For Rishon, Prop Dan Amir scored a try and full-back Uri Waldman kicked a penalty.

At the Sportek, Kibbutz Yizra'el beat Ra'anana 49-15 after leading 7-5 at half-time.

In the third game at Beersheva, ASA Technion Haifa defeated Beersheva 28-21.

In the under-18 competition, it was Hapoel Galil Elyon 15, Ashkelon 14.

Joel Gordin

**The Israel Airports Authority**

**PUBLIC TENDER NO. C4010055**  
**MULTI-LEVEL ROADWAY & PARKING GARAGES**

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby requests Proposals from qualified Offerors meeting the below listed Pre-Conditions for the Construction of a Multi Level Roadway (MLR) and Parking Garages for the Ben Gurion 2000 Project. The Work of this Contract generally includes construction of an elevated, two-level roadway approximately 800 meters in length, and two three-level Parking garages. The MLR is a cast in place, pre-cast and post-tensioned concrete structure. The parking garages are cast-in-place and pre-cast concrete structures. Included in this Contract is all structural, architectural, foundation, mechanical, and electrical work for these structures.

**Preliminary Mandatory Requirements:** This list summarizes the Pre-Conditions for an Offeror's proposal to be considered by the IAA. Only the complete language of the Pre-Conditions as stated in the RFP is binding. This text may be obtained by written request, submitted on company letterhead, to the PMF facsimile number stated below.

1. If an Israeli entity, Offeror shall be registered under Classification of both Group C, Branch 100, type 5 (Unlimited) and Group C, Branch 300, Type 5 (Unlimited) under the Registration of Contractors for Construction Works regulations (Classification of Registered Contractors) 1988.
2. Offeror's minimum annual revenue in each of the last three (3) years was not less than the equivalent of Forty Million U.S. Dollars (\$40 Million).
3. Offeror's records must indicate, for each of the last three (3) years, the cost paid directly for labor for at least four hundred (400) persons (annual average).
4. Offeror has constructed and completed at least:
  - a. Two (2) non-residential projects such as parking - garages, office buildings, shopping centers, etc. of not less than 40,000 Square meters (sq.m.) each within the last five (5) years; and
  - b. One (1) precast concrete bridge project of a minimum 70 meters length within the last five (5) years.
5. Offeror shall meet the staffing and personnel experience requirements specified in the RFP, Exhibit A.
6. Offeror shall meet the registration requirements for a legal entity stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
7. Offeror shall meet the VAT and Israeli Tax Authorities' registration requirements stated in the RFP, Exhibit A.
8. Offeror shall provide an unconditional and irrevocable Bank Guarantee in the amount of Fourteen Million (14,000,000 NIS) New Israeli Shekels, valid for a minimum of ninety (90) days from the Proposal Submission Date, as specified in the RFP, Exhibit E.
9. Joint Ventures are allowed to participate in the Tender in accordance with the conditions stated in the RFP, Part B, Section 2 and Exhibit A.
10. Offeror, if a foreign entity, shall additionally provide a Commercial Cooperation Undertaking Agreement.

**Additional Preliminary Requirements:**  
Participation in the Tender Process is subject to the Offeror's satisfying all Preliminary requirements as detailed in the Mandatory Tender Regulations (1993), Clause 6 (a), (1), (2) and (3).

**Proposal Documents:** Tender Documents may be purchased until Proposal Submission Date for the non-refundable amount of Nineteen Thousand Five Hundred New Israeli Shekels (19,500 NIS), including VAT.

**Tender Documents** are available from the Project Management Firm (PMF) Project Office located at Ben Gurion International Airport, starting 28 November, 1998 between the hours of 08:00 and 12:00, business days (Sunday through Thursday). Interested Offerors must contact the PMF Contracts Administrator, Mr. Amnon Yehoshua at telephone number: 972-3-977-4464 (Fax number 972-3-971-2956) a minimum of forty eight (48) hours in advance to arrange Site access. Interested parties may preview the Tender Documents prior to their purchase.

All qualifying Proposals shall be delivered in sealed envelopes/packages not later than 10:00 hours local time on or before 12 January 1999 to the appropriate tender box located in the Archive of the Airports Authority, Main Office, 2nd Floor, Room 113, Ben Gurion International Airport, Israel.

A Pre-Proposal conference will be held at the Ben Gurion 2000 Project site Offices on December 10 1998 at 12:00 to clarify provisions in the RFP documents, to summarize and present the Project and to respond to written questions posed by Offerors. Offerors are strongly encouraged to attend, but participation is not mandatory. Site access must be arranged in advance as stated in the RFP.

The IAA is not bound to accept the lowest Proposal or any proposal whatsoever.

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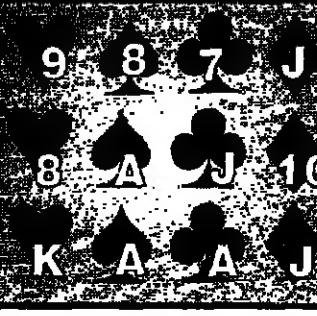
**MUSIC IN JERUSALEM**  
12/12/1998 - 10/1/1999

**68th ANNUAL JERUSALEM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA**

Artistic Director: Daniel Barenboim

1. **Concert: Mahler's 1st** - 12/12/98  
Mahler's 1st Symphony, Mahler's 2nd Symphony, Mahler's 3rd Symphony, Mahler's 4th Symphony, Mahler's 5th Symphony, Mahler's 6th Symphony, Mahler's 7th Symphony, Mahler's 8th Symphony, Mahler's 9th Symphony, Mahler's 10th Symphony, Mahler's 11th Symphony, Mahler's 12th Symphony, Mahler's 13th Symphony, Mahler's 14th Symphony, Mahler's 15th Symphony, Mahler's 16th Symphony, Mahler's 17th Symphony, Mahler's 18th Symphony, Mahler's 19th Symphony, Mahler's 20th Symphony, Mahler's 21st Symphony, Mahler's 22nd Symphony, Mahler's 23rd Symphony, Mahler's 24th Symphony, Mahler's 25th Symphony, Mahler's 26th Symphony, Mahler's 27th Symphony, Mahler's 28th Symphony, Mahler's 29th Symphony, Mahler's 30th Symphony, Mahler's 31st Symphony, Mahler's 32nd Symphony, Mahler's 33rd Symphony, Mahler's 34th Symphony, Mahler's 35th Symphony, Mahler's 36th Symphony, Mahler's 37th Symphony, Mahler's 38th Symphony, Mahler's 39th Symphony, Mahler's 40th Symphony, Mahler's 41st Symphony, Mahler's 42nd Symphony, 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Sports Editors  
Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

## Katash set to give up on NBA

By OFER RONEN-ABELS

Oded Katash has agreed to return to Maccabi Tel Aviv while the NBA lockout continues.

It appears that Katash has given up on his hopes of playing for the New York Knicks this season despite renting an apartment in Manhattan.

A meeting was held yesterday between Katash's representative and Maccabi Tel Aviv's David Federman with a view to securing Katash's services for this season.

Maccabi has to rebuild its squad, and as the dispute in the NBA remains unchanged, the pressure on Katash to postpone his move to the US mounts.

Katash's agent told *The Jerusalem Post* that Katash will return to Israel before the weekend and, despite being injured following Maccabi's victory over Spanish side Manresa, he might take part in the league game against Hapoel Holon on Sunday.

## Shearer's staying

LONDON (Reuters) - England captain Alan Shearer moved yesterday to dispel rumors that he was about to leave Newcastle.

Shearer said he had held clear-the-air talks with manager Ruud Geulit on Friday. "I'm staying here," the striker said.

# Humiliation hovers over tourists

England narrowly avoid stigma of losing Test in 2 days

PERTH (Reuters) - England were battling to avoid defeat in the second Ashes Test yesterday after another batting collapse triggered by Australian fast bowler Damien Fleming.

England, 128 behind on first innings, slumped to 67 for five at one stage in their second innings before reaching 126 for five at the close on the second day.

Fleming captured four for 16 in 11 overs to add to his first innings figures of five for 46.

Mark Ramprakash, who made 26 not out, and Graeme Hick, who responded to the crisis with an aggressive, unbeaten 42, batted through the final 52 minutes of the day in an unbroken sixth wicket stand of 59.

That saved England from the

Fleming leg-cutter straight to Ricky Ponting at third slip for one. Hussain, who made just six in the first innings, followed with the total on 11 when Fleming trapped him leg before wicket for one.

Stewart, top scorer with 38 in the first innings, failed to repeat his performance when he was caught by Mark Taylor at first slip for a duck as England slumped to 15 for three.

Stewart and Atherton are England's most experienced and reliable batsmen but are both struggling with their form. Atherton has scored 67 runs in four Test innings in this series while Stewart has made 49.

Atherton struggled through to tea on Sunday but departed for 35 shortly after the break when he nicked a Fleming outswinger behind to Taylor.

Colin Miller chipped in to claim the wicket of John Crawley, caught by Justin Langer at short leg for 15 in the final hour, to complete a miserable day for England.

Ramprakash and Hick batted cautiously through most of the last session before Hick launched a furious assault just before the close, smashing two sixes off Jason Gillespie.

### Scoreboard

Yesterday at stumps on the second day of the second Test between Australia and England at the WACA, Australia won the first

England, 1st innings 118

Australia, 1st innings

Overnight 120 for three

Mark Taylor c Stewart b Cork 61

Michael Slater c Butcher b Gough 34

Justin Langer c Crawley b Ramprakash 15

Mark Waugh c Butcher b Taylor 36

Jason Gillespie c Stewart b Mulhally 11

Steve Waugh b Taylor 33

Ricky Ponting c Stewart b Taylor 11

Ian Healy lbw b Gough 12

Damien Fleming c Hick b Gough 0

Colin Miller not out 3

Glenn McGrath c Cork b Taylor 0

Extras (1b, 10lb, 15lb) 24

TOTAL 248 all out

Fall of wickets: 81, 115, 136, 165, 208, 214, 228, 235, 238, 240

Bowling: Damien Gough 25-4-43-3 (3rd), Damien Cork 21-5-41-1 (3rd), Alan Taylor 20-2-50-4 (7th), Alan Mulhally 21-10-36-1, Mark Ramprakash 2-0-12-1 Batting time: 390 minutes. Overs: 99.2

England, 2nd innings

Mark Butcher c Ponting b Fleming 1

Mike Atherton c Taylor b Fleming 35

Nasser Hussain lbw b Fleming 1

Alec Stewart c Taylor b Fleming 0

Mark Ramprakash not out 26

John Crawley c Langer b Miller 15

Graeme Hick not out 42

Extras (5lb) 8

TOTAL 126 for five

Fall of wickets: 5, 11, 15, 40, 67

Bowling: Damien Gough 25-4-43-3 (3rd), Damien Cork 21-5-41-1 (3rd), Alan Taylor 20-2-50-4 (7th), Alan Mulhally 21-10-36-1, Mark Ramprakash 2-0-12-1 Batting time: 390 minutes. Overs: 47.

## South Africa Windies Test, Page 22

prospect of becoming the first team in 53 years to lose a Test within two days.

The performance by England's batsmen ruined what would otherwise have been a glorious fight-back from England's bowlers on a bouncy WACA pitch favoring the pacemen.

Defending their inadequate first innings total of 112, England cleaned up Australia's last six wickets for just 31 runs to dismiss the home country for 240.

Alex Tudor, playing in his first Test, led the way to finish with four for 89 after taking four wickets in 21 balls in a fiery spell.

But Tudor's good work was undone by another inept performance by some of England's top order batsmen.

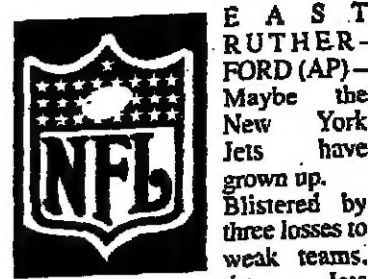
Fleming again did the damage, dispatching Mark Butcher, Nasser Hussain, Alec Stewart and Michael Atherton before leaving the field in the final session with a thigh injury.

Butcher, who made a duck in the first innings after scoring a century in the drawn first Test, was the first to go when he edged a



TO THE CLEANERS - Australian batsman Steve Waugh is clean bowled during the second day of the second Ashes Test yesterday.

## Jets rout Panthers, 48-21



EAST RUTHERFORD (AP) - Maybe the New York Jets have grown up. Blistered by three losses to weak teams, the Jets showed the maturity and killer instinct of a playoff contender yesterday, routing the Carolina Panthers 48-21. New York (8-4) won its fifth straight home game for the first time in 12 years by responding to the coaching staff's warnings not to overlook the opponent the way they'd done in losses to Baltimore, St. Louis and Indianapolis.

It also has been that long since the Jets scored so many points. Victimized Carolina's 28th-ranked defense. Curtis Martin and Keyshawn Johnson struck for long TD runs. Vinny Testaverde's accuracy - 16-for-21 - and strong work by the offensive line also keyed the win that kept the Jets atop the AFC East.

New York also dominated decisively, getting five sacks against the inept Panthers (2-10), who had split their last four games and were playing opponents tightly before yesterday's lopsided defeat.

Martin ran for scores of 60 and 1 yards and finished with 110 yards on 21 carries.

Ravens 38, Colts 31

It's the closest thing to revenge that Baltimore football fans could possibly imagine.

Baltimore's current team beat its predecessor, much to the delight of 68,898 fans who waited 14 years to root in person against the traitorous Colts.

Back in Baltimore for the first time since Robert Irsay moved the franchise to Indianapolis in 1984, the Colts (2-10) immediately made themselves at home in a hostile environment by taking a 17-3 lead in the first quarter.

But the Ravens (5-7) outscored Indianapolis 17-0 in the fourth quarter to win consecutive games for the first time this season.

After the game, Baltimore quarterback Jim Harbaugh gave the game ball to former Baltimore Colts great Johnny Unitas, who rooted for the Ravens from the sideline.

Harbaugh, who played for Indianapolis from 1994-97, was 16-for-28 for 198 yards and two touchdowns.

Jaguars 34, Bengals 17

With a career-high four touchdown passes, Mark Brunell Jacksonville in control of the AFC Central.

Brunell rebounded from his worst game as a pro by throwing a touchdown pass in each quarter, setting up a road victory.

Jacksonville improved to 9-3 for the first time in its four years and opened a two-game lead in the AFC Central, which the Jaguars have never won. Three of the Jaguars' last four games are at home, where they've gone 5-0 this season.

In other action yesterday, Tampa Bay beat Chicago 31-17. Kansas City stopped Arizona 34-24, and Atlanta whipped St. Louis 21-10.

## Petit: Players should consider strike action

LONDON (Reuters) - Arsenal's French World Cup star Emmanuel Petit said yesterday that players should consider going on strike because of the amount of football they are expected to play.

Petit, who scored France's third goal in their 3-0 World Cup Final victory over Brazil in the summer but is currently out injured with a torn stomach muscle told *The People* newspaper: "Too much football is killing the game. What can we do? Well, we could do what they did in Italy, and stop playing - but top players in England are scared of the FA."

Italian soccer players staged an unprecedented strike in March 1996 over a range of grievances.

"Too much alcohol kills the body, too much cocaine kills the body, too much love kills the body. In fact too much of anything kills the body and that's why too much football will kill the game."

"It is hardly surprising players are becoming injured now because the FA and FIFA do not care what the players think."

Petit said he had spoken with Arsenal team mates Patrick Vieira and Dennis Bergkamp and everyone felt the same way. "We are professionals and we love our job with a passion. But when we play so many matches, we get tired and injured and when that happens, the fans don't see the best of us."

## "You Can't Dance With A Murderer"

We are all extremely grateful to Mohammed Dahlan, the Palestinian Security Chief, for his frank admissions in an interview in Gaza, as reported on the front page of *The Jerusalem Post* of Sunday, November 22, 1998. Dahlan put it this way: "Why did we ask to release the political prisoners?...because it was us - myself, Mr. Arafat and Abu Mazen - who sent them out on their operations in the first place."

For those of us who entertained only a suspicion heretofore, we now have it authenticated from an unimpeachable source that it was Arafat and his cohorts who, despite entering into the Rabin-Peres-Arafat Oslo Accords, were consciously and surreptitiously violating the specific terms thereof from the very outset. Despite what Arafat was promising Rabin in a personal letter renouncing terror, he was in fact simultaneously actively engaged in promoting violence and terror against his peace partner. Never mind that his actions were in direct contradiction to both the specific terms of Oslo. More important, it revealed that Arafat was laughing up his sleeve at naive Peres and Rabin for having chosen him, an unremitting terrorist, as their peace partner. The message has become crystal clear: *The word, or even specific writings of commitment from such a peace partner as Arafat and/or the PLO, is of no value whatsoever, and cannot be relied on, neither now nor in the future.*

It is therefore not an unfounded rumor that Arafat has requested of Hamas that they temporarily refrain from acts of violence against Jews and the State of Israel. That is, at least until Israel fulfills what Arafat and the U.S. persuaded Netanyahu to do under Wye,

to turn over further large sectors of its small national homeland to Arafat and the PLO. Such a ploy is entirely consistent with the Arafat and PLO overall strategy of destroying Israel in stages. The sudden temporary turning off of the tap of violence - of stone throwing, fire bombs and the like, moreover, is no mere coincidence. Such surprising concerted behavior on the part of the Arab community as a whole throughout Israel, Judea, Samaria and Gaza gives the lie to what Arafat has been saying all along. When requested to control such terror, his reply in the past has been that he cannot control these isolated mavericks, and individual acts. When he really wanted to however, his message got through to the Arabs. He simply told them in effect: "Don't upset the apple cart at a time when I have maneuvered the Jews into foolishly giving away their land free of charge or obligation." With such a "peace partner", there is no possibility of a real and lasting peace.

Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon recognized this from the very outset of Oslo. On September 3, 1993 he wrote an Op-Ed article in the *Jerusalem Post*, entitled, "You Can't Dance With a Murderer." Sharon, there, prophetically stated: "...By recognizing this murderer's organization, the PLO, the government has committed an act of madness. By reviving Israel's greatest enemy on the eve of its disintegration and turning it into Israel's shield against Hamas, the government has added crime to folly ... There can be no reconciliation, historic or otherwise, with the man who ordered the murders of schoolchildren in Avivim, Ma'alot and Antwerp, of eleven Jewish athletes in Munich..." What say you now, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon?

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**THE WEATHER**

http://www.accuweather.com

**ISRAEL**

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Israel: Partly to mostly sunny today with the chance of a lingering shower in the east. Highs from the mid-teens to the high 20s.

**EGYPT**

Eilat 28/13

**EUROPE WEATHER TODAY**

Shown is today's weather. Temperatures are today's highs and tonight's lows.

**ISRAEL CITIES**

City	Today		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Ariel	21/70	64/18	21/70	64/18	21/70	64/18	21/70	64/18
Beer Sheva	22/71	64/18	22/71	64/18	22/71	64/18	22/71	64/18
Dead Sea	27/80	12/28	27/80	12/28	27/80	12/28	27/80	12/28
Eilat	29/82	13/29	29/82	13/29	29/82	13/29	29/82	13/29
Haifa	24/75	13/55	23/73	13/55	24/75	13/55	24/75	13/55
Jerusalem	18/64	74/46	17/62	74/46	18/64	74/46	18/64	74/46
Katamon	19/65	33/78	18/64	33/77	19/65	33/77	19/65	33/77
Nazareth	23/73	11/29	23/71	11/29	23/73	11/29	23/73	11/29
Tel Aviv	23/73	11/29	23/71	11/29	23/73	11/29	23/73	11/29
Tiberias	23/73	94/64	23/71	94/64	23/73	94/64	23/71	94/64

Weather (W): sunny, partly cloudy, cloudy, showers, thunderstorms, rain, drizzle, fog, snow, hail.

Full Moon: Dec 3, Last: Dec 10, New: Dec 19, First: Dec 28

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**NORTH AMERICA WEATHER TODAY**

**INTERNATIONAL CITIES**

City	Today		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Amsterdam	20/55	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Beijing	6/43	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Berlin	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Brussels	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Cairo	25/77	11/52	25/77	11/52	25/77	11/52	25/77	11/52
Chicago	19/61	7/44	12/53	4/39	18/61	6/43	18/61	6/43
Frankfurt	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Hong Kong	27/80	23/73	27/80	23/73	27/80	23/73	27/80	23/73
Johns Harbor	29/77	18/64	25/77	17/62	29/77	18/64	29/77	18/64
London	9/43	-1/19	5/41	-1/19	9/43	6/43	9/43	6/43
Los Angeles	19/65	13/55	18/64	13/55	19/65	13/55	19/65	13/55
Moscow	7/44	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Munich	23/71	94/64	23/71	94/64	23/71	94/64	23/71	94/64
New York	12/53	3/27	6/43	-1/19	9/43	2/28	9/43	2/28
Paris	21/70	11/29	19/65	6/43	17/62	9/43	17/62	9/43
Peking	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Rio de Janeiro	25/77	18/64	25/77	18/64	25/77	18/64	25/77	18/64
Rome	11/29	94/64	11/29	94/64	11/29	94/64	11/29	94/64
Sydney	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Tokyo	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Toronto	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Vienna	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Washington	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55
Zurich	10/4	-2/27	30/87	-1/19	6/43	20/55	6/43	20/55